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SENATOR ROOT ON THE LORIMER CASE

In a dispassionate but vigorous and convincing speech Senator Root, of New York, last week placed himself on record as believing that the election of Senator Lorimer was tainted with corruption. Mr. Root went carefully over the evidence, and with his characteristic clearness and simplicity of analysis showed the weakness even from a technical point of view of Mr. Lorimer's defense, which at best is purely technical. But, and this in our judgment is much more important, Senator Root pointed out that the Senate, in forming its judgment in this and similar cases, is bound, not by the technicalities of the law courts, but by the laws of the moral intelligence. In this respect his speech is so important that we quote his words in full:

> We are here not as a court. We are more than a court. There is no power, short of a Constitutional amendment, which limits or controls the evidence we shall take of the grounds upon which we shall act in deciding the qualifications of a member of this body. The sole limit to our power is our own sense of justice and right and the public weal. There are no statutes which bind us. We are not a board of canvassers to count votes. Congress itself cannot control us in the protection of the integrity of this body. We are charged with a duty to determine, on our own consciences, whether the election of William Lorimer was brought about by corruption. It is not a question of the mere counting of votes, but a question of substance.

These words regarding the dignity of the Senate reflect honor both upon the man who uttered them and the body to whom they were addressed. Senator Root's speech was listened to with profound interest in a crowded Senate chamber. We believe his view of the case, which is shared by some of the strongest of his colleagues, will in the end prevail.

TAKING THE TARIFF OUT OF POLITICS

By a vote in which not only partisan but also factional differences were disregarded, the House of Representatives passed last week a bill to establish a permanent non-partisan—or, more strictly, bi-partisan—Tariff Board. The measure as finally adopted is a compound of two bills, one introduced by Mr. Longworth, of Ohio, the other by Mr. Dalzell, of Pennsylvania. It provides that the Tariff Board shall be composed of five members, appointed by the President and removable by him. Their tenure of office is such as to make the Board a continuing body unaffected as a whole by political changes. The function of the Board is to make investigations concerning matters affecting the tariff. Though these investigations are to be with special reference to the cost of production, they are not to be confined to that, for the bill provides that the information that the Board is entitled to secure includes "all other facts which may be necessary or convenient in fixing import duties or in aiding the President and other officers of the Government in the administration of the customs laws;" and the measure furthermore requires that the Board "shall also make investigation of any such subject whenever directed by either House of Congress." It still further requires the Board, under the direction of the President, to report upon the effect of tariff laws or bounty laws as enacted in foreign countries. It safeguards information thus obtained from any individual or company so that it shall not be

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available for use by any competitor or rival. The Board has power to subpœna witnesses, administer oaths, and require the production of pertinent documents. The Board thus created is to supersede the present Tariff Board, created by the terms of the Payne-Aldrich Act. If this bill passes the Senate, it will constitute the most momentous change in tariff legislation that has taken place in the United States since the enactment of the first tariff law. It will change tariff legislation from a vast game between commercial contestants to an administrative process based upon knowledge of scientific value. Of course the transition will not be complete. No one whose head is level will expect this to eliminate all the evils that are incident to our tariff policy; but every one has a right to expect that it will vastly minimize those evils. For years the tariff question has been nominally a political question. If the issue between the parties had been a real issue between two distinct principles and policies, there would have been no ground of complaint against the practice of treating the tariff question as political. If one party had consistently advocated protection as the object of tariff legislation, and the other had as consistently urged revenue as the object, a basis for a political contest would have existed. As a matter of fact, this has not been the case. The Democratic party has proved itself as truly as the Republican to be an advocate of protection. The Wilson-Gorman Act was as essentially a protection measure as that which it superseded. The real contest between the parties has in reality been a contest over what industries and what sections of the country shall get the greater benefit from the tariff. Such a contest as that is a scandal. The question as to how the benefits of protection should be apportioned among industries is one that should be determined, not by the pulling and hauling of interests, but by a process that will ascertain what apportionment will result in an equalization of benefit. As it has been followed in this country, the protective policy has been one of the most corrupting influences on public life. If, however, the protective policy is put honestly upon a scientific basis, it might still encounter opposition on economic grounds, but it would cease to raise moral issues. If this measure is enacted, as we hope it will be, lasting credit will be due, first, to President Taft and his Administration, and, secondly, to those members of Congress who by its enactment have risen above party.

THE STRENGTHENING OF OUR STATE EXECUTIVES

Concerning the wisdom of the initiative, referendum, and recall there is wide difference of opinion; of the existence of the evils which they are intended to correct there can be little question. In an address last week at the McKinley Day Banquet of the Tippecanoe Club of Cleveland, Ohio, Mr. Henry L. Stimson presented a keen analysis of the evils and wise suggestions for their reformation. In Mr. Stimson's view, the cause of these evils is the fact that our State Governments have been conducted on a wrong theory. This theory is that the main danger to be guarded against is the danger of tyranny and oppression from the State executive. Influenced by this fear of tyranny, the framers of these governments "cut the executive down to a term too short to carry through any constructive policy; they took away his chiefs of departments and made them either elective or otherwise independent of him; they separated him as far as possible from the representative law-making body with which he must work." So long as our National conditions were simple and uncomplicated by great industrial and business development, this lack of concentrated responsibility did little harm. But the growth of the power and wealth of business has made a tremendous difference. "One result of it," said Mr. Stimson, "has been a complete change in the attitude of the private citizen towards the executive. Instead of regarding it as a possible tyrant, as Jefferson did, we now look to executive action to protect the individual citizen against the oppression of this unofficial power of business. . . . It is not the people who are in danger from a strong State Government, it is the Government itself that is in danger from private influence." To eliminate the causes of inefficiency Mr. Stimson would advocate "a lengthened term for the Governor, say, four years, with the right to recall at the end of two years,

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as now exists in the case of the Mayor of Boston. Give him the same power to select and control his cabinet and the heads of his departments as is possessed by the President of the United States, especially with an absolute and unconditional power of removal. . . . Give him the undisputed right not only to suggest but to frame and introduce his own legislative measures, giving to such measures a right of precedence on the legislative calendar." This enlarged power of the Governor to initiate legislation would in large measure, he believes, do away with any necessity for a popular initiative. If the Governor's power over legislation should prove to be too great, it could always be checked by the use of an optional popular referendum. "We are familiar enough," he said, "with the referendum as a check on the Legislature to be acquainted with its conservative characteristics." Mr. Stimson's analysis and his proposals, in our opinion, go well down to the root of the matter. To strengthen the executive, to enlarge his powers and so increase his responsibility, to free him from checks and limitations, is not to invite despotism, but to erect a barrier against despotism. Our fathers feared the tyranny of men; we suffer from the tyranny of aggregated wealth and political machinery. In a strong executive lies the protection of the people against the oppression of big business and the exploitation of corrupt politics. We shall do much to restore popular rule by exalting the executive, who is the one representative of all the people.

A HUMANE CORPORATION

The great corporations of this country have been subjected, often justly, sometimes unjustly, to severe criticism; it is all the more grateful, from time to time, to record instances of unselfish and humane action by such corporations. A notable instance of this has just occurred. The Diamond Match Company, which, we understand, is the largest manufacturer in the United States in this particular industry, has, of its own accord, abandoned legal patents which enable it exclusively to manufacture a kind of match the making of which is not an injury to the employee. To understand this matter, it should be known that there have been two kinds of phosphorus used in the making of matches. One is harmless; the other is a poison. A Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor gives a really heart-rending account of the evils of white-phosphorus poisoning. In Great Britain and in other countries the subject was thoroughly investigated years ago; in the year 1899 alone there were reported in Great Britain one hundred and two cases of phosphorus poisoning, nineteen of which were known to have terminated fatally. The common term for the unique malady which afflicts men and women engaged in match manufacture is "phossy jaw;" the scientific term is phosphorus necrosis. It is a peculiarly horrible and distressing disease. Other countries have protected their workmen against this danger, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the United States, by prohibiting the use of white phosphorus (as was recommended by President Taft in his last annual Message, and as is proposed in a bill now before Congress), may make this loathsome disease a thing of the past. In the meantime the action of the Diamond Match Company, even although it may be in some measure dictated by enlightened self-interest, is, nevertheless, unselfish and to be praised cordially. The Company held a patent under which an acceptable substitute for the kind of match in which white phosphorus is used could be made. The Company at first assigned the patent to three trustees, empowered to grant licenses to all who wished practical use of it on fair and reasonable terms. The names of these trustees—Professor Seligman, of Columbia; Mr. Neill, the United States Commissioner of Labor; and Mr. Ralston, counsel for the American Federation of Labor—were a guarantee of fair dealing. But later, as this course endangered the bill before Congress, because Congress thought it ought not to compel the use of a privately owned patent (which would follow if the use of white phosphorus was forbidden and the patent for the other method was retained by the Company even nominally), the Company formally renounced the ownership of the patent and dedicated it to the free use of the people of the United States. Thus the

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way is made clear for humane legislation by Congress.

MULTIPLEX TELEPHONY

In these days when the Patent Office is accused of being "a mother of trusts," and some patents have brought millions to inventors and have created monopolies for great corporations, it is refreshing to find an inventor so generous and public-spirited that he will give to the world the results of his discovery without money and without price. Such a man is Major George Owen Squier, of the United States Signal Corps, who, having received patents fully protecting him in a valuable discovery in the field of wireless electrical communication, has refused to profit by his invention and has dedicated it freely to the service of his fellow-men. Some years ago the multiplex telegraph was perfected, by means of which a number of telegrams can be sent simultaneously over the same wire. This is effected by the introduction of tuning-forks into the circuit at the sending point, duplicated as to pitch at the receiving end. It is now more or less possible also to "tune" or synchronize the wireless telegraph message so that it will be received only by an instrument in tune with the sending apparatus. It is usually a surprise to the uninitiated to learn how slight need be the current to transmit successfully a message by a submarine cable. The current employed on the Atlantic cables could be generated in batteries the cells of which were not much larger than thimbles, and the current used to transmit speech over a telephone wire is almost equally feeble. This necessarily feeble current must be revivified every few miles to permit of long-distance conversation. On the other hand, the electric energy necessary to send a wireless message is enormous. The earth probably acts as a great electrical dynamo; revolving upon its axis, it generates electrical currents by its revolution. The surrounding atmosphere is thus charged with electricity which is usually in a state of equilibrium. To send through the air an electrical impulse which can be perceived at a distance requires that the generating force shall be so great as to create a disturbance of this equilibrium. Radiating from its point of origin, the impulse proceeds in electrical waves equally in all directions, just as do the ripples when a stone is thrown into a pond. While it has been found possible, as stated above, to arrange so that wireless messages, under favorable conditions, can be received intelligently only through apparatus specially in tune with the sending point, it has not hitherto been possible to prevent the waves from radiating in all directions, and this has been the drawback in wireless telephony. Electrical waves, like those produced in water or in air or in solid matter by a blow or by a sound, are measured by the amplitude of their oscillations and wave-lengths. The oscillations of the air wave produced by a large organ pipe are comparatively large and slow, while those produced by a smaller pipe are comparatively small, rapid, and short. Major Squier's discovery was that by reducing the frequency of oscillation he could direct the electric impulse along a wire which serves as a guide. The current transmitting speech or the impulse of the electric telegraph travels either in or upon the surface of the wire conductor, depending upon the character and strength of the battery or other generator. The impulse carrying abroad the message of wireless transmission travels by wave advancement through the atmosphere. Major Squier found that by limiting the speed or amplitude of oscillation he could impart wireless impulses to the layer of ether immediately surrounding a wire, and by "tuning" them could enable a number of conversations to be carried on at the same time, without interference with each other. The wire is essential, but only to serve as a guide for the wireless form of electrical transmission. It seems probable that the use of the wire guide as a direct conductor of single, or even multiplex, telegraphy, as heretofore, will not interfere with its use for simultaneous multiplex telephony, now rendered possible by this invention. The means by which the inventor accomplishes these results are a little too technical for description in our columns, but it may be said that he employs no new and untried devices; rather a novel juxtaposition and application of well-proven apparatus and methods. This generous gift to the American

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people should tend in time greatly to lessen the cost of the telephone and materially to increase its convenience.

THE SEATTLE RECALL

In compliance with a petition signed by eleven thousand voters, the City Council of Seattle recently ordered a special election to be held in February for the recall of the Mayor, Hiram C. Gill. The charges made against him in the petition are the same that were brought in the successful recall of Mayor Harper, of Los Angeles, namely: (1) incompetence and unfitness; (2) abuse of appointive power by selecting, for political and personal reasons, men unfit for office; (3) refusal and neglect to enforce the criminal laws of the city; (4) permitting the city to become a home and refuge for the criminal classes; (5) failure to enforce impartially the laws and ordinances; (6) that his continuance in office is a menace to the business enterprises and moral welfare of the city. A few days after the filing of the petition with the City Comptroller, and before the Council had taken any action, Mayor Gill applied to Judge Albertson, of the Superior Court for King County, asking for an injunction restraining the city officials from proceeding with the recall election. Broadly speaking, the grounds on which the injunction was asked were fraud and forgery in the signatures to the petition, defects in the law providing for the recall, and technical irregularities of various sorts. It was known that the law was loosely drawn, and the friends of the recall were somewhat anxious over the outcome. But Judge Albertson held that there was no good evidence that the number of genuine signatures was not sufficient; and concerning the technicalities he said: "We must not hunt for obscure reasons to thwart the will of the people. . . . This court cannot pass upon all the intricate questions involved, on the spur of the moment. Where there is any doubt in the court's mind as to the charter provisions, it ought to be decided in favor of the free expression of the popular will." The Mayor's attorneys then applied to Judge Hanford, of the United States Circuit Court, in the name of one Scobey, a resident of Illinois, alleged to own property and pay taxes in Seattle, claiming that Scobey's taxes would be increased by reason of the expense of the recall election, and that, the election being illegal, he was entitled to the court's protection. It was estimated that the increase might possibly reach the sum of seven cents, though it would probably be less. Judge Hanford granted an injunction, not restraining the city from holding the election, but restraining the City Comptroller from paying out any moneys or issuing any warrants on account of election expenses. The Corporation Counsel and the attorney for the Public Welfare League—an organization backing the recall campaign—immediately went to Portland, Oregon, and laid the matter before Judge Gilbert, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. Judge Gilbert promptly issued a writ of supersedeas overruling Judge Hanford's decision, requiring the city, however, to file a bond of $15,000, and setting an early date for a further hearing. In doing so Judge Gilbert said: "It is a matter of right or wrong between these parties. With the plaintiff, only the payment of his tax is involved. The defendant stands here for the orderly conduct of an election authorized under the laws of the State. It is a matter that affects the whole community. The court should be very slow in tying the hands of the officers of the city in a case of this kind." A few days later Mayor Gill's attorneys appeared before Judge Hanford and consented that the case should be dismissed, thus putting an end to all pending litigation and leaving the city free to proceed with the election. The recall candidate, Mr. George W. Dilling, is a business man of very high standing in the community. The election is made the more interesting by the fact that the State of Washington has very recently granted the suffrage to women, who are registering in large numbers and will take a prominent part at the polls.

A STATE DISCUSSES BUILDING A RAILWAY

Some of the newspaper despatches have announced that Oklahoma is "going" to build, own, and operate a State railway; the fact is that

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she is simply thinking about it—a very different thing. Such an undertaking is expressly permitted by the Constitution of Oklahoma, which authorizes the State to engage in private business. It was suspected at the time this provision was placed in the Constitution that its purpose was to allow the State to build and operate oil refineries, should the people believe that by doing this they could curb the Standard Oil Company. No refineries have been built by the State, nor has it engaged in any other form of private business. It appears, however, that the hope of making Oklahoma the pioneer commonwealth in the ownership of all its railways—in time—was behind the request of the Oklahoma State Federation of Labor in 1907 that all candidates for nomination as delegates to the Constitutional Convention should declare whether they were for or against a Constitutional provision that the State should be allowed to engage in private business. The executive officers of the Oklahoma State Federation of Labor are suggesting for present legislation that the State shall build a line from the northwest to the southwest corner of the State, about five hundred miles in length, together with a number of branch lines, one to extend to a satisfactory connection in the State of Texas, to reach the Gulf water-line. Few persons in Oklahoma have had knowledge of the persistence and activity of organized labor in this matter. At its annual meeting last August the Oklahoma State Federation of Labor adopted resolutions indorsing the present undertaking. Politicians and business men in Oklahoma are divided as to the wisdom of State ownership. The Governor of Oklahoma, Mr. Lee Cruce, has carefully refrained from expressing a positive opinion in the matter. Mr. Cruce for many years was a banker. The proposal, briefly, is that the Legislature shall provide for a commission with power to make surveys, locate the permanent lines, and make estimates of the cost of construction, all of which shall be submitted to the State Corporation Commission for its approval. If the latter should be granted, the Governor then shall be required to submit the question to the people at a special election, at which time they would provide for an issue of State bonds sufficient in amount to cover the cost of building and equipping the railway. This cost has been estimated at from $18,000 to $24,000 a mile. The promoters of this railway express the belief that it would enable the State Government to control the railway passenger and freight rate situation, which has been the cause of strenuous litigation between the State and railway companies ever since Oklahoma became a State. It is the purpose of the State Federation of Labor to bring the proposition before the people by employing the initiative if the Legislature, for any reason, should fail to give it consideration. In this initiative the Federation expects to have the help of the Socialist party, now aggressive in Oklahoma. An adequate bond issue would amount to not less than ten or twelve million dollars, and might reach twenty million dollars. The objections, both political and financial, to such a plan appear to us to be very grave. The people of Oklahoma ought to show that they can efficiently operate local and municipal public utilities before trying the experiment on a State-wide scale. Moreover, such a road cannot possibly succeed without inter-State commerce connections which would sooner or later bring about friction and conflict between the State and Federal authorities. The problems of inter-State commerce can never be satisfactorily solved by the separate States.

PRESERVE MOUNT VERNON

The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have proposed to establish a reformatory for criminals in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon. We are glad to report that the House of Representatives has by a substantial majority recorded itself as opposed to the plan. All Virginians in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon are protesting against the project. The New York "Times" has objected to their attitude on the ground that it represents "a purely sentimental opposition which will evoke no sympathy throughout the Nation." The Outlook takes the opposite view. It sympathizes entirely with the Virginians' attitude in this matter, and it feels that all American citizens who take pride in the Nation's past should also sympathize with this attitude. All

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the land in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon is fraught with historic associations. This reformatory, if established, would be about midway between Mount Vernon, where Washington lived, and the church which Washington attended. It is not far from Marshall's house—and Marshall should occupy in the American pantheon a place only less prominent than the places of Washington and Lincoln. Probably there is no tract of land in the country upon which it is so desirable not to have a reformatory or any similar building erected. The "Times" also seems to us from another aspect to be in error in its view of Mount Vernon. It says, in speaking of the beautiful situation of Mount Vernon:

> The pity is that it has not more of the dignity that should be associated with a National shrine. It should be reclaimed, and the mass of personal and commercial advertisement associated with it should be removed. A great National monument might be erected there. How long the ancient buildings can stand is a matter of conjecture. The house of Washington certainly cannot be kept open to the public many more years unless it is rebuilt.

We take issue with every sentence of the above statement. No monument of more dignity can possibly be imagined for the National shrine of any nation than Mount Vernon exactly as Mount Vernon now is. It is no more possible to argue about it than to argue with some man who would state that the Parthenon was lacking in dignity and ought to be pulled down and some "great national monument erected in its place." There is no mass of personal and commercial advertisement associated with Mount Vernon. On the contrary, it has been kept singularly free from any such objections. The buildings are in excellent repair. They have been strengthened and can be kept open to the public indefinitely, not only for many more years but for many generations, just as the White House could be kept open, and just as the various historic buildings in Europe, like Shakespeare's house at Stratford, are now being and have long been kept open. We sympathize with the "Times" in its wish to keep Mount Vernon free from any inappropriate surroundings. For this very reason we vigorously oppose the suggestion of building a reformatory in its immediate neighborhood, or of tearing down the house and erecting on its site some kind of modern "National monument."

DEATH BY DYNAMITE

The terrific explosion on Wednesday of last week on a pier belonging to the Central Railway of New Jersey reinforces the lesson of the recent explosion at the Grand Central Station in New York City. Life and property are in constant danger, not so much because the laws dealing with explosives are bad as because they are not enforced. Warrants charging manslaughter have been served on officers of the New Jersey Central Railway, the Du Pont Powder Company, and the owner of one of the lighters destroyed. The investigation of these men may lead to better regulation of the handling of explosives, but inquiry should also be made as to what city, State, or National officials are responsible for allowing recklessness. It is asserted, for instance, that dynamite and fulminate or percussion caps were shipped and handled together. This is contrary to law, and is simply courting disaster. It is asserted also that the New Jersey Central Railway had no license to convey explosives in car-loads, and that the law forbids such carrying without a license. It is stated that in New York City not long ago a great pile of mixed packages of dynamite and fulminate was left unguarded on a dock, and was seized and sold by the city authorities. The statements of the Commissioner of Explosives in New York City and the corresponding officer in New Jersey show plainly that the utmost carelessness has long been tolerated. That men who have become accustomed to explosives are apt to become reckless is an established fact. Rigid inspection, strict laws, instant prosecution for violation of regulations, are the only possible ways of avoiding future tragedies. What violation of law may lead to is seen in the extraordinary effects of the Communipaw explosion: from twenty to thirty laborers at the pier where the dynamite was in process of transfer from car to boat were literally blown to pieces, so that, with a very few exceptions, no bodies or parts of bodies could be

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found—and yet a car half full of dynamite a few rods away did not explode; passengers and employees in the ferryboats near by were thrown down, many scores were cut by glass, and some were seriously injured; New York City in its lower section was almost thrown into a panic—hundreds of windows were broken, tall buildings were shaken, and the fire-engines rushed wildly about in the confusion trying to find the cause; the shock was felt even in Brooklyn, across two great rivers and the intervening city, and it was observed by persons in Manhattan Borough as far north as Seventieth Street; at the New Jersey Central ferry in Jersey City the smashing of glass (it is said that 150,000 panes were broken), wrenching of beams, and general wreckage was almost unlimited. The stories of personal experience, escapes, and injuries were strange and varied—one of the oddest was that of a man who was being shaved and had his throat badly cut by the effect of the shock on the barber. The railway people say that an explosion of steam or gasoline on the boat which was receiving the dynamite was the probable first cause, but this is not proven, and the evidence seems to point rather to careless handling of fulminate and dynamite packed in the same car-load. The handling of explosives in transmission by rail and on the rivers and harbor of New York is a matter that Federal as well as State and city authorities should watch and control.

ADMIRAL SPERRY

Admiral Sperry has just died, at the age of seventy-one. When President Roosevelt ordered the battle fleet of sixteen fighting ships to cruise round the world, it left Hampton Roads under Admiral Evans's supreme command. The second squadron of the fleet was commanded by Admiral Charles Stillman Sperry. Arriving at San Francisco, Admiral Evans retired. Admiral Sperry succeeded him, and brought the fleet the rest of the way around the globe to Hampton Roads again, the ships returning in better trim than they were when they assembled for the cruise. Admiral Sperry graduated from Annapolis near the head of his class. While he was the first naval officer to become a fleet commander after the Civil War who had himself not served in the Union navy during that struggle, he was known at first quite as much for his scholarly as for his administrative ability. He was one of the greatest mathematicians ever produced by our service, and his power of imparting knowledge caused him to be sent back again and again to Annapolis as instructor. One of his pupils there was Midshipman Ijuin, now Vice-Admiral of the Japanese navy. Admiral Sperry was also favorably known for his constructive ability, and was among the trusted advisers of the Government after 1890, when we built a new navy; in especial, he helped to make picturesque the cruise of the White Squadron, our first attempt at a modern navy. During the war with Spain Admiral Sperry chafed in the routine duties of ordnance officer at the Brooklyn Navy-Yard, but immediately after the war he was given command of the cruiser Yorktown at Manila. In 1899 Aguinaldo's revolution occurred. Admiral Sperry was ordered to take the Yorktown down the eastern coast of Luzon and cut off Aguinaldo's retreat by landing naval forces in the rear of the insurrectionists. The command was executed with great dash. Then he became President of the Naval War College at Newport, where the plans of the navy are worked out and the problems of defense and offense solved. But Admiral Sperry's greatest reputation was doubtless as an authority on international law. He was therefore made Naval Delegate to the Hague Conference of 1907, and did much toward the establishment of the International Court of Prize authorized by that Conference, as also later towards the Declarations of London, by which the principal maritime powers set forth the principles of maritime law. Finally, to his other distinctions Admiral Sperry added that of oratory. His oratory was not of the flamboyant, exuberant kind. He did not allow his personal enthusiasms to get the better of his judgment, hence the Government felt safe not only in intrusting the supreme command of a world cruise to an admiral of the Sperry caliber, but also felt sure that at the various banquets offered to our naval officers the Admiral in command in his after-dinner

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speeches would be sure to phrase the appreciation of the American Government in exact language. This characteristic earned for him the sobriquet "the level-headed Admiral." Many a naval man and many a friend will miss the sight of that tall, spare figure, American in every sense of the word.

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS WARD

Mrs. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward died on January 28. In 1868, when her "Gates Ajar" appeared, the whole country was in mourning, for the war had been ended only three years, and in almost countless homes, North and South, there were vacant places. Never in the history of the Nation have so many people realized what death meant, or what immortality means when it is a matter of passionate longing and hope. "The Gates Ajar" attained at once a great circulation, passing through twenty editions in the first year. It was in no sense a speculation, nor was it a discussion of the evidence of immortality; it was a translation of a great hope and faith into terms which were comprehensible in every household. It was a daring attempt to make the life beyond a tangible thing. It shocked many people; it strengthened others; it comforted a host who were unable to grasp personal immortality as a real and tangible thing. Whatever may be said of the literalism of the book and of the wisdom of the attempt to carry the furniture of earth into the "many mansions," its appeal was wide and found instant response. Its author was the daughter of a New England family of religious and scholarly distinction. Miss Phelps had grown up in Andover; her father was a professor of marked individuality, and her grandfather had been for years one of the foremost teachers. Her first story was published in the "Youth's Companion." She entered passionately into the experiences of the war period. At its close she undertook philanthropic work in a little factory village not far from her home. It was during the war that her "A Sacrifice Consumed" was published in "Harper's Magazine." From that time she was an industrious and tireless writer, and the list of books with which her name is connected would fill a good-sized shelf. The best known of them was "The Gates Ajar;" but "The Story of Avis," almost savagely criticised by Gail Hamilton, and open to criticism on the side of excess of sentiment, had a very wide reading. Perhaps "The Madonna of the Tubs," published in 1886, had a wider popular reading than any other book except "The Gates Ajar." In October, 1888, Miss Phelps was married to Mr. Herbert D. Ward, and with him she wrote in collaboration a small group of tales. Mrs. Ward was a woman of excessive sensibility. Her lack of nervous strength did not, however, prevent her from doing an enormous amount of work and from securing a position of very considerable prominence among the fiction writers of her time. Her work was often morbid in tone and over-intense, but her style was vivid and her stories had genuine human interest.

FEDERATION IN FACT

Few people realize that most of the important Protestant denominations in America are united in a federation that is as real as the federation of States. Even the members of those denominations themselves who are aware of that fact are, for the most part, probably unaware of its significance. Nothing has so seriously hampered the Church as a moral force as its sectarian divisions. If the Protestant branch of the Church is undertaking to remove from the field of moral power the hurtful influence of these sectarian differences, its power in shaping the lives of men will be incredibly enhanced. That is just what the Protestant Churches of America are doing. As our readers know, there assembled in Philadelphia two years ago last December, for the first time, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. These churches found their common interest, not in a creed, though they agreed in the assertion of their attitude toward Christ, nor in a common ritual or form of government, but in a common work. On the 24th and 25th of last month, in the city of Washington, the Executive Committee of that Council held their second annual meeting. It is noteworthy that all their discussions pertained to common activities of service. What-

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ever discussion there was concerning beliefs was the by-product of the consideration of a practical measure, and it was of no effect upon the final action. In all such organizations the crucial question is the financial one. People are ready to gather together for talk; but when they make appropriations, one may be sure that they are to be reckoned with. The denominations constituting the Federal Council are assessed, and most of them have paid their assessments already. Moreover, out of these assessments the Executive Committee have appropriated funds for defraying the cost of the common work. Under authority of this Executive Committee there has been a careful investigation conducted in cooperation with the chief Home Missionary Societies; and the resulting recommendations have been adopted by nearly five-sixths of the home missionaries west of the Mississippi River. Under the authority of the Committee a branch of the Council, the Commission on the Church and Social Service, has made an important report on the relation of the Church to industrial conditions in a center of steel manufacture. The Executive Committee of the Council at its meeting appropriated $5,000 for the use of the Commission on the Church and Social Service. Compared with the great mass of people composing the constituency of this Council—about fifteen millions—the sum appropriated seems minute. But the size of the sum is of much less significance than the fact that thirty denominations, including virtually all the larger ones, have formed a Federation that is exercising the power of the purse. By disregarding differences in creed, polity, and traditions, and by federating with the object of engaging in a common work that costs, these thirty denominations have, we believe, followed the course that will lead to real Church Union.

THE PIPER

"This is no drama," said a veteran critic the other night at the New Theater, in New York City, "this is only a whim." But what a whim! Six hundred years ago the story of the Pied Piper of Hamelin may have been no drama, but a whim too. Like other worth-while German legends, it persisted, and Browning finally gave it poetic form in English. Josephine Preston Peabody has given it poetic form also, and has produced something exquisitely different from anything else. She has written a blank-verse play which won the recent Stratford prize for the best British or American play of the year, and was produced last year, in accordance with the terms of that prize, at the Shakespeare Memorial Theater at Stratford-on-Avon in England. Miss Peabody (Mrs. Lionel Marks, the wife of the Professor of Mechanical Engineering at Harvard) has courageously changed the legend itself. According to her interpretation, the story has not a sad, but a glad, ending; for the children come back! Man's inhumanity to man, woman's attention to "what the neighbors say," the Church's intolerance, and the town's sordidness—all these things are hit as hard in the new version of the legend as in the old, and the lessons are as applicable to-day as in A.D. 1284. But it is a comfort to have the children come back. They are the legend's mainspring, and among them the vital source of power is Jan, the lame boy, who loves to sit near the statue of the "Lonely Man," as he calls the Christ. "The Piper" is a symbolic play. But it is not a dream-play, like Maeterlinck's "Blue Bird." Certainly it is a noteworthy winter for American children when four such events occur in New York City as the Child's Welfare Exhibit, the production of the opera "Königskinder," and of the plays "The Blue Bird" and "The Piper." The insistence of the child-motive and our enjoyment of it makes us deplore the "sag" after the first part of "The Piper" until the end of the last act. But the "sag" is not alone because we miss the children; it is also because of one unnecessary episode and because of several soliloquies too long for a drama, no matter how readable they may be in a book. As an acting drama "The Piper" can, and doubtless will, be improved. The Outlook said last year that Miss Peabody has given the world something of permanent merit. It is interesting to know that the idea was suggested to her by Mr. Otis Skinner's little daughter, and that the play was, in the first place, written for Mr. Skinner himself, whom Miss Peabody expected

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to play the part of the Piper. It was refreshing to note the ready response evoked from the audience by this genuine work of art—another indication that there is even more human sympathy for such pure and lofty motives than for the sordid "problem" plays persistently exploited by theatrical managers. Seldom has a play been better staged than "The Piper," whether in scenery or in the grouping and dressing of the characters; seldom has acting been more exhilarating. Probably a man should play the Piper's part, but only one actor in a thousand could; and in default of the right man it would be difficult to find a woman with more exquisite insight and forceful interpretation than Miss Matthison's. (In private life Miss Matthison is Mrs. Charles Rann Kennedy, the wife of the author of "The Servant in the House;" she made her American début in "Everyman," in which she played the title rôle.) As a figure portraying the joy and freedom of beings "not in cages," as the Piper says, our stage has perhaps seen nothing more appealing since Modjeska appeared as Rosalind.

THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE LIBRARY

Mr. John Cotton Dana, the librarian of the Newark (New Jersey) Free Library, and one of the foremost men in his profession, contributes to a recent number of the "Independent" an interesting account of what might be called the democratization of the library. Modern library methods, he tells us, began with the meeting of a few librarians at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876—a new point of departure for all the arts in America. These librarians formed an association and began the publication of a journal, and from that moment the American library began to change from a collection of books for students and experienced readers into an effective instrument not so much for bringing books to the library as for carrying books to the reader. The first step in the onward movement was administration, with its questions of housing, storage, classification, cataloguing, keeping, handling, and indexing. This meant getting the library at the disposal of the librarian and giving the books unity of organization. Then came the building of libraries; town and city, college and university libraries began to multiply. There was great zeal, much money, and little experience, and there were many disastrous mistakes; but there was also a great gain in the housing of books. Then followed the era of publicity, by which the stores in the libraries were brought to the knowledge of readers and all information given about them. The work among children followed next, and was the inauguration of one of the most important functions of the American public library. Thirty years ago children were not desired in libraries, and, if they came, they found very few books for their use. The age limit for admission to libraries was eighteen; it dropped to twelve, then to ten, then to eight, and has now disappeared. No sooner did the children begin to frequent the libraries than a change in the material used in teaching reading in the public schools began. Literature was substituted for all sorts of inferior writing, and this involved the publication of many editions of works of classic quality. Supplementary books came into the market, and the children of the whole country began to read the best English and American writing, with adaptations of myths and classical stories. The boy who went into a library at that time was very apt to enter it with a desire to read Oliver Optic, but he found confronting him and ready to his hand a collection of books of real substance and quality, and he generally became so interested that he forget his Optic. The librarian soon realized that the young children who visited the main library were only a small proportion of the children of the community; so the branch library was established to make the resources of the library accessible at different points. Half the space available to readers was given up to children, and librarians became the advisers of children in the matter of reading. Then it was discovered that a library in a city of 300,000, for example, with ten centers or branches, could not get close to more than from 10,000 to 20,000 of the 60,000 young people in the city. Accordingly the teachers in the public schools and the librarians began to co-operate, the libraries lending to individual teachers, for use

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in the class-room, collections of books adapted to the age and studies of the children. These books are lent without restrictions; they are read to the classes, the children read them for themselves, and they are allowed to take them home. This method of what Mr. Dana calls "sowing a library broadcast" is now used in nearly all the large cities and towns of the country, and the best books are going straight to people's doors. A better example of the substitution of the democratic principle and method for the aristocratic principle and method on which the old libraries were conducted could not be given; nor could there be a more interesting analogy to the democratic movement which is taking place in other directions, and which, without lowering the quality of that which it spreads abroad, enormously widens the opportunities of the people as a whole, and increases the educational uses of the best things.

KING GEORGE AND HIS SLANDERERS

King George has acted wisely in putting a final quietus on the report which has been floating about the English-speaking world for years past that he was married at Malta, in 1890, to the daughter of an English Admiral; that children were born of this marriage; that when the Duke of Clarence, then Prince of Wales, died, and the present King became heir to the throne, this marriage was ignored; and that in 1893, disregarding the former marriage, the King married the present Queen, a daughter of the Duke of Teck. This story has been authoritatively denied at various times, once by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but it was not set at rest. It was repeated by "The Liberator," a leaflet published in Paris by an American who deserves the strongest possible condemnation. The author of the article in "The Liberator," Edward Mylius, was last week tried by a special jury sitting under Lord Chief Justice Alverstone, in the King's Bench division of the High Court of Justice, on the charge of the publication and circulation of a defamatory libel. The Attorney-General, in presenting the case, declared that the King's good name and character were entitled to the same protection as is given to other citizens, and that redress was sought, not for the protection of the reputation of the monarchy, which rests on foundations too secure to be undermined by such an attack, but for the King as a man, a husband, and a father. Every living member of the family of the Admiral whose daughter the King was alleged to have married at Malta in 1890, including the daughter herself, went on the stand and testified that no member of the family was at Malta in 1890, and gave other testimony which proved that the charge was utterly groundless. It was shown that the King had not served on any ship which touched at Malta in 1890, that the registration of marriage is compulsory in the island, and that no record of such a marriage appeared. A letter from the King was read, in which he said that he was influenced by Queen Mary in taking legal measures to stop the circulation of the scandalous story; that he had been married only once, and then to Queen Mary; and that he did not appear in person to give evidence because he had been advised by the law officers of the Crown that it would be unconstitutional for him to do so. Mylius offered no evidence in confirmation of his charge, but endeavored to take advantage of the legal point that the proceeding against him was irregular on account of the absence of the King. He asked that the action be dismissed. The Lord Chief Justice ruled against him, and sentenced him to one year's imprisonment, declaring that no sentence that he could impose was adequate for so gross and infamous a libel. The King has rendered a service to society in dealing thus promptly with a shameful story which has been believed by those who are always eager to believe the worst of people in great position. The other story, that the King is addicted to excessive drink, is declared, by those who are in a position to know, to be equally without foundation.

DEFECTIVE SPEECH IN THE SCHOOLS

Doubtless many teachers in New York City are trying to emphasize, in the training of their pupils, the difference between talking and speaking, and there may be several schools where the emphasis is maintained consistently by each teacher in the building; but there

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is only one school where, besides this, special classes are being conducted to correct those deficiencies which cannot be benefited by mere insistence upon accurate pronunciation. Some children stammer; some have simply continued to omit from their speech certain syllables which as babies they found difficult; some have malformation which makes necessary the training of entirely new sets of muscles. Any one of these disabilities is, of course, a handicap; the continued lagging soon puts the child in an "over-age" class, where he is considered stupid, treated for stupidity, and soon finds little difficulty in living up to that reputation. When he is old enough to realize his defect, he may go to a school for stammerers, where his infirmity is effectively made concealable—so long as he will beat time for his words with one pocket-inclosed hand. The efficacy or permanence of such a method of cure is beside the point, but the illustration may serve as the antithesis of the treatment of defective speech as applied by Principal Reigart in Public School 166. Mr. Reigart bases his method on a study of methods in use in Vienna and Berlin. He has tried it in two schools in New York, in each of which it was found necessary for two per cent of the pupils. The success is unquestionable. In various rooms in this school one may listen to the recitations of boys who before their term in the "speech class" had been unable to make themselves understood. But the whole method lies in the forming of correct habits, and this includes proper breathing, induced by respiratory exercises. The action of Chicago in this regard is worth noting. A questioning by Mrs. Young soon after she became Superintendent of Schools disclosed the fact that there were 1,287 stammerers in the Chicago schools. She immediately recommended that ten of the students graduating from Chicago Teachers College be given special training, and the Board of Education appropriated $3,000 toward the payment of these students. Superintendent Maxwell, of New York, in his last report recommended an investigation of the number of stutterers and stammerers of the different grades of disability, and, if the situation warranted their special care, that a special class be formed for their instruction in each district; but the Board of Education seems as yet unwilling to increase the scope of a work which is indispensable to the rest of thorough teaching.

DR. YAMEI KIN

Among the most interesting of recent visitors to this country is Dr. Yamei Kin. She is the only Chinese woman physician graduate of an American medical college. She is now at the head of the Woman's Medical Department of North China. Dr. Kin received her medical degree sixteen years ago from the Woman's Medical College in New York City, now a part of the system of Cornell University. Returning to Tientsin, she assumed charge of the Woman's Medical Department of the Chinese Government in North China. It did not take her long to establish a training-school for nurses in Tientsin, a hospital for babies, and several dispensaries. All of these institutions are flourishing; in fact, it has been said of Dr. Kin that she has done more for the advancement of women in China than any other person. With Dr. Kin is Miss Hsui-Lan-Pai, a member of a distinguished Manchu family of China and a graduate from Dr. Kin's Tientsin school. Dr. Kin is bringing her to America further to prepare her for entrance into the Johns Hopkins University medical course. Trained nursing, as we understand it in America, is still almost unknown in China. It is interesting to contrast the two women, one being pure Chinese and the other Manchu. The latter wears the Manchu dress, the former appears in Western costume. In addition to studying American medical courses they are also eager to study American methods of building and heating and sanitation, so that they may be adapted to Chinese conditions in the erection of hospitals, medical schools, and dispensaries. The future of medicine in China is, in Dr. Kin's estimation, to be largely in the hands of the women; it is a mistake to think that the Chinese women are not to be among the most progressive of their sex. Dr. Kin's thirty-six pupil nurses are, she says, proof enough that "we are making of them thinking women with fine minds, and professional women, too, who will be able to hold their own against the college-bred women of America."

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NATIONALISM AND THE WORKINGWOMAN

This is the fifth of the series of editorials by Mr. Roosevelt on the general subject of "Nationalism and Progress." —*THE EDITORS.*

Last week I discussed collective action only as shown by the Government or by organized labor. But collective action need not take either form in order to do far-reaching good. Hard-working people who distrust mushy sentimentality as much as they admire a sane and persistent effort to get a square deal for every one, to give every man and woman a fair chance, can accomplish a great deal for the betterment of our industrial conditions. Witness the work done, especially in behalf of workingwomen, by the Consumers' League of New York City, founded under the presidency of Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, and now under the presidency of Mrs. Frederick Nathan; by the National Consumers' League, with Mr. John Graham Brooks as President, and Mrs. Florence Kelley as General Secretary, and by many other State and city leagues of the same type.

In the following statement the Consumers' League enunciates its principles as originally adopted and outlines the progress of the movement:

I. That the interest of the community demands that all workers should receive, not the lowest wage, but fair living wages.

II. That the responsibility for some of the worst evils from which wage-earners suffer rests with the consumers who persist in buying in the cheapest markets regardless of how cheapness is brought about.

III. That it is, therefore, the duty of consumers to find out under what conditions the articles which they purchase are produced, and to insist that these conditions shall be at least decent and consistent with a respectable existence on the part of the workers.

IV. That this duty is especially incumbent upon consumers in relation to the products of women's work, since there is no limit beyond which the wages of women may not be pressed down, unless artificially maintained at a living rate by combinations either of the workers themselves or of consumers.

Recognizing the fact that the majority of employers are virtually helpless to improve conditions as to hours and wages unless sustained by public opinion and by law, and by the action of consumers, the Consumers' League declares its object to be to ameliorate the condition of the women and children employed in New York City by helping to form a public opinion which will lead consumers to recognize their responsibilities, and by other methods.

The first work of the newly formed League was the drawing up of a list of retail stores to be recommended to its members. Before any house was placed on the "White List" it was tested by "the standard of a fair house," a list of conditions insuring just treatment of employees, drafted by the Workingwomen's Society after consultation with members of certain firms.

This standard was, of course, an elastic one, and has been modified as circumstances directed. In 1908 it stood as follows:

WAGES

A Fair House is one in which equal pay is given for work of equal value, irrespective of sex, and in which no saleswoman who is eighteen years of age or over—and who has had one year's experience as saleswoman—receives less than six dollars per week.

In which wages are paid by the week.

In which the minimum wages of cash-children are three dollars and a half per week, with the same conditions regarding weekly payments.

HOURS

A Fair House is one in which—

The number of working hours constituting a normal working day does not exceed nine.

At least three-quarters of an hour is given for luncheon.

A general half-holiday is given on one day of each week during at least two summer months.

A vacation of not less than one week is given with pay during the summer season.

All overtime is compensated for.

Wages are paid and the premises closed for the seven principal legal holidays, viz., Thanksgiving Day, Christmas and New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, the Fourth of July, Decoration Day, and Labor Day.

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

A Fair House is one in which work, lunch and retiring rooms are apart from each other, and conform in all respects to the present Sanitary Laws.

In which the present law regarding the providing of seats for saleswomen is observed, and the use of seats permitted.

A Fair House is one in which humane and considerate behavior toward employees is the rule.

In which fidelity and length of service meet with the consideration which is their due.

In which no children under fourteen years of age are employed.

In which no child under the age of sixteen years works for more than nine hours a day.

In which no such child works unless an employment certificate issued by the Board of Health has been first filed with the employer, and the name, etc., of the child has been entered on a register kept by the employer.

In which the ordinances of the city and

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the laws of the State are obeyed in all particulars.

The League recognized from the outset the difficulty of ascertaining which houses came up to its standard, and consequently in recommending the White List firms used the guarded recommendation that, "so far as the Board can learn, the following retail houses deal justly by their employees." Only eight stores in New York were at the beginning considered eligible. In 1908 the list had grown to fifty-one.

In view of the oft-repeated assertions that the size of the wage and the length of working time are settled by "economic laws" over which people can exercise no control, it is interesting to observe that these are among the very matters with which the different Consumers' Leagues have dealt, often successfully. But they have done much more. They have grappled with many different problems: overtime work, seats for women workers, laws regulating and providing for official supervision over the employment of women and children in mercantile establishments, early closing (especially at Christmas), the abolition of sweat-shops and of child labor in the tenements.

The effort to regulate the hours of work for women has been only partly successful, and not only all wage-workers but all public-spirited and far-sighted patriots should realize sharply the attitude on this matter taken by some of our public servants.

Both the New York Legislature and the New York municipal authorities have at times shown a disposition to thwart the work of the Consumers' League in behalf of women and children by refusing to appropriate the necessary funds to enable Government inspectors to supervise conditions in stores and shops. If a law is not to be a dead letter, provision must be made for its enforcement; and a particularly discreditable legislative trick is to put a law on the statute-books with a flourish of trumpets, and then make no provision for its effective application. Unless a law against overtime is enforced it is certain that manufacturers and shopkeepers will continue to work their employees extra hours and after six o'clock in the evening. In 1897 the appropriation for special inspectors to enforce the Mercantile Law was abolished, and for the next dozen years women working in stores enjoyed much less protection than those employed in factories and workshops, where the execution of the law was under Government supervision. There is a peculiar baseness in failing to provide for the execution of this particular law, because those affected are women and children, who are much less able to protect themselves than are full-grown men. At last, only two years ago, the New York Legislature did pass a law to remedy the evil, and at present the measure of enforcement of the law is better than ever before. Yet even during this period the utmost effort has been necessary to prevent legislation to legalize a working week of sixty-six hours for women and girls over eighteen years old. We sometimes hear from very respectable people the statement that there is a tendency to do too much in the line of labor legislation. Unquestionably as regards this legislation there is constant need to be on the watch against demagogy. But the experience here recited shows that there is at least equal need for active and vigilant work to counteract the selfishness and shortsightedness of those employers who object to legislative action in the interests of employees.

More serious in its effects even than legislative indifference has been the action of certain State courts in nullifying legislation designed to prevent women from working at night. I do not for a moment question the motives with which the decisions were made; and each particular case may have been clumsily presented, or the particular law drawn in slovenly form; but the net result was the affirmation of an outworn and harmful theory of government economics. The courts in Illinois, Colorado, and New York have all taken action, denying that the working hours of an adult woman engaged in manufacture could be restricted by statute. These decisions are, fortunately, flatly contradicted by the so-called Oregon case decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, which emphatically and clearly lays down the law that the Legislature has the right to limit hours of labor as regards women—the decision being of such admirable character as to make a landmark in the legislative efforts of those who seek to better the conditions as regards women and children. In Illinois the State Court has reversed its

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former action, a result not only greatly to the credit of the Court, but greatly to the credit of the men and women—Mr. Brandeis, Miss Josephine Goldmark, and others—who secured the reversal.

The proposition that the United States and the several States, alone among civilized commonwealths, are not competent to secure the welfare of future generations by protecting the women and children in this generation is simply intolerable. No other civilized nation would permit a judicial declaration forbidding the Government to act in this matter. It is out of the question that the hands of a free people, bent upon doing justice, can be tied in such manner. If the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness do not include the right to preserve the real liberty and the health and the happiness of the women and the children of the Nation, the enunciation of these rights in the Declaration of Independence, annually read everywhere in this country on the Fourth of July, is farcical. A matter like this cannot be settled aright unless it is accepted as a matter of course that the Legislature has entire power over it; that is, that the representatives of the people are able to respond to the wishes of the people, for the matter dealt with is one vitally affecting their interests and well-being.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WRITING ON THE WALL

It is generally during a Presidential election that we hear the expression "The writing on the wall." We are now half-way between Presidential elections, but we may appropriately use that expression. The writing on the wall reads: "The Tariff is no longer a Local Issue." In general, the people of this country have now no difficulty in reading the writing. But some politicians have. A blur seems to be over their eyes. What causes the blur? Votes. Not the votes of the people as a whole. Votes of certain special interests. If an expression of the people's opinion were to be taken to-morrow by vote, a result would be, we believe, a large majority in favor of the agreement just entered into by the American and Canadian Governments and now awaiting approval by their respective parliaments.

There are two large National reasons for this agreement.

It promises to lower the price of food products throughout the United States. It is true that this promise does not seem to be quite consistently carried out. For example, The Outlook would like to know why cattle are admitted free and a tariff is retained on meats. There is a general impression that the packing-houses are in a combination which constitutes a practical monopoly; and a general conviction that monopolies need no protection. But even if it were true—which we do not imply—that this concession to the packing interests was made because they were so strong a political force that their opposition would have endangered the agreement, this single and serious defect would not counterbalance the general advantages. It is true, also, that reducing the prices of food products to the consumer will reduce the profits of food products to the seller—that is, either the producer or the middleman. There is no known way by which the purchaser can buy at a low price what the seller sells at a high price. It is reported that when the agreement was announced, the flags at Gloucester, Massachusetts, were put at half-mast, and the symbol was interpreted by Mr. Gardner's declaration that the agreement would be a death-blow to the cod-fishing industry. We think that this is a case of premature burial; that New England fishermen can compete on equal terms with Canadian fishermen; and that an increased supply of fish will be quite likely to create an increased demand. The history of Gloucester appears to justify this belief, for the period 1855–1866, when Canadian fish came in free under the old Reciprocity Treaty, was really the golden era of Gloucester. During that decade it increased by nearly three-quarters in population, whereas during recent years its population has been actually decreasing. Senator Hale's doleful prophecies of evil to the State of Maine from the free admission of Canadian potatoes and other agricultural products is met by a statement from the Portland merchants, who seem to be so pleased with an arrangement

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which will doubtless enlarge their business as to cause a resolution to be introduced in the Maine Legislature commending the reciprocity agreement, and asking Congress to pass the legislation necessary to carry it into effect. We have not seen reported any similar movement in the Northwest, where the agricultural interests are supposed to account for the opposition of Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, and the silence of Senators Cummins, of Iowa, and La Follette, of Wisconsin. And yet it is hardly to be questioned that the farmers will, as a class, gain immeasurably more from the general prosperity of the country than the few can lose from the lowered tariff on wheat.

But were the loss to special interests greater than we think it will be, still, the greatest good of the greatest number is the end of democratic government, and lower prices of foodstuffs to all housewives would more than compensate for some loss of profits to some New England fishermen or some Western farmers. No bargain between nations can be made without some disadvantage to some individuals in both nations. The disadvantages to individuals threatened are more than counterbalanced by the advantage of a free food market from the Maine coast and the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. On this subject The Outlook heartily indorses the courageous and wise words of Senator Beveridge: "Some who imagine they may be hurt by certain items of the agreement will find that they are not hurt at all but really helped. The great body of our farmers have nothing to fear, and should not let anybody alarm them. The workingmen and salaried classes will be helped, of course, and so will the manufacturing industries as a whole. . . . Even if a few so-called injustices exist in some items, they are negligible compared with the existing and real injustice which the whole agreement begins to correct."

But even more weighty than the material benefits to the Nation from this agreement are the immaterial but valuable advantages to both the United States and Canada, and incidentally and remotely to the world.

Senator Hale, of Maine, is quoted as saying that "this Reciprocity will set back tariff legislation by fifty years." We hope it will. For just about fifty years ago the last Canadian Reciprocity came to an end, and now an end ought to be put to the hardships which both countries have endured since then because of the tariff wall along the border.

There are some important differences between Canada and the United States. Their problems are different, and neither country understands the problems of the other. Annexation is not desirable for either country. The Outlook hopes to see the British Empire federated, and Canada represented in an Imperial Council or an Imperial Parliament. For that very reason it hopes the more to see Canada and the United States closely united by commercial and social bonds. There is no reason in the philosophy of protection for a tariff between them. For the object of protection is to prevent the lowering of our standard of wages, and consequently of our standard of living. But the standard of wages and the standard of living do not differ materially in these two contiguous countries. There is no reason in their political independence why they should not be commercially interdependent. Absolute free trade between Connecticut and Massachusetts, between Indiana and Illinois, does not impair the political independence of either State. The Outlook would be glad to see absolute free trade between Canada and the United States. Whatever separates these two communities and promotes commercial hostility between them is bad for both. Whatever unites these two communities and promotes commercial fellowship between them is an advantage to both. And in so far as it tends to closer relationship of the United States with the mother country, and so with all English-speaking peoples, the better for the peace and prosperity of the world.

There may be defects in this agreement; there probably are. There are doubtless special interests on both sides of the border which will be injured, or at least will anticipate injury, from it. But to amend it is to reject it. And local and special injuries ought not to be allowed to outweigh the general benefit. Certainly those who have been crying out against high tariffs as the cause of high prices ought, whatever their local constituencies,

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to welcome this practical attempt to lower our tariff, and by lowering it to reduce the prices of foodstuffs to every householder in the United States. Certainly, also, those who have been advocating a world peace ought to welcome this attempt to promote closer relations of friendship and freer interchange of life between these two English-speaking peoples who so largely divide the responsibility of this continent between them.

THE SUPERMAN AND OTHERS

Men detest egotists because they are absorbed in themselves, and that particular form of selfishness is not only offensive but ridiculous; it takes a great deal of genius to carry off egotism, and no amount of genius can carry it very far. And men delight in poking fun at conceit, which is a form of self-exaggeration. Unless he has gifts of mind, the conceited man is more or less of a bore, and the contrast between what he is and what he thinks he is forms a standing challenge to tell him the bald truth about himself. Great ability often goes with egotism, but conceit is, as a rule, the besetting sin of the man whose abilities are below the level of his ambitions. Such a man may have good intentions and capacity adequate for good work, but he is rarely taken seriously, and everybody is tempted to puncture his pretensions. Egotism is a fundamental fault of character; conceit is often the superficial weakness of those who lack self-knowledge.

The egotist is always selfish and anti-social; he treats the world as if it belonged to him and fulfilled its ends only as it ministers to his comfort and profit; he is never a lovable man, because he is so much a lover of himself that he bars all the doors and closes all the windows of his soul against the approach of others. The conceited man, on the other hand, is often approachable and friendly in spite of an exaggerated sense of his own importance. It was said of such a man that he not only overrated himself but overrated all his friends; everybody and everything connected with him took on high importance. The egotist lives in one of those galleries of mirrors which multiply the visitor a hundredfold and make a crowd of one man; the conceited man sees everything relating to himself through a magnifying-glass. Neither sees the world as it really is; but one absorbs it into himself, and the other, if he is of the kindly sort, divides it with his friends. The egotist acts as if the world had been made for him; the conceited man as if he had made the world. The first is a miser, the second is often a prodigal; towards the first we feel an instinctive aversion, toward the second we often turn in affection not devoid of amusement.

The Greek maxim, "Know thyself," is a counsel of wisdom, but not a defense against egotism; it must be supplemented by the Christian maxim, "Think not upon your own things, but also upon the things of others." To the conceited man the Greek world preached the doctrine of measure in all things, that fine sense of proportion and restraint which made the Greek not only the earliest but the greatest artist among men; while the Christian world reminded him that he who would be greatest must think, not of honor and high place, but of service and humility. The proud, he would be reminded, will be abased, while for men of the childlike spirit the Kingdom of Heaven is close at hand.

Every fine instinct, noble impulse, and large vision of truth revolts against the Superman, that hideously perverted ideal of greatness which the contemporary pessimists have fashioned out of egotism, conceit, brutality, and greed of power and pleasure; a figure more repulsive than the most revolting image of the evil forces personified by the imagination of the savage. The Superman is the incarnation of ruthless egotism, the personification of the anti-social vices, a nightmare which haunts the dreams of those whose minds tremble on the verge of moral insanity.

The Superman would be the ideal man if the devil were God; in a world in which the Christ has lived the Superman is the devil in human form—a beast of prey clothed like a human being.

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THE SPECTATOR

The sun, shining into the little white-washed room, woke the Spectator early. If it had not done so, the crowing of the roosters perched on the blue, high-wheeled Norman carts in the paved court of the inn would have been enough to rouse one of the Seven Sleepers. Normandy has a rural, energetic flavor, and this rambling hostelry, with its irregular one and two story balconied buildings opening on the yard where pigeons cooed, chickens ranged, and carters cracked their whips, was picturesque to a degree, and also delightfully bare and clean. The ruddy-haired, fresh-faced young landlady ruled with authority; one could see that. Also her name was Mathilde—which shows that Bayeux has not forgotten the good Queen to whom it largely owes its fame.

Bayeux Cathedral is the history of the town written in stone. It has been built all along the centuries by all sorts of builders, and yet gathers history all up into one artistic whole, after the astonishing manner of genuine cathedrals. In the first place, St. Exupère, whoever he was, built the beginning of it in Merovingian days, and St. Regnobert made it larger. It was there when Harold was wrecked on the coast of Normandy, and on its altars he took that disastrous oath on the holy relics which lost him his kingdom. After that the cathedral burned down, and nothing was left but the crypt. Some archæologists say that part of this crypt goes back as far as the seventh century. The Spectator is not a connoisseur in crypts, but these rude and impressive pillars look old enough to uphold any theory. On the other hand, it is said that that sturdy fighter Odo the Bishop, half-brother of William the Conqueror, built most, if not all, of the crypt in rebuilding the cathedral in 1077. Either tradition is quite old enough to satisfy anybody, surely. Odo meant to be buried in this crypt, but he thoughtlessly went to the Crusades, for the sake of the good fighting there, and never got back, so he lies buried in Palermo instead. However, the other Bishops of Bayeux have pretty well filled it, not to mention the tomb of the youngest daughter of William and Matilda, poor little Agatha, who did not want to be married to Alfonso of Spain. All the way to her wedding she prayed that she might die a virgin, spending so much time in prayer that "her knees were brawned," says the old chronicler; and her prayers were heard, for she died half-way on her unwilling journey to Spain, and was brought back to lie here at Bayeux. Being a marriageable princess in the Dark Ages had its tragic side.

Bishop Odo built a splendid structure in 1077, and William the Conqueror, fresh from his victory across the Channel, was there at its dedication. The lower part of the two great western towers is the only part left—stern, magnificent architecture; and the Bayeux tapestry which had hung around the nave also survived, in the way that frail things outlast tremendous ones. The rest was all burned under Henry the First, then rebuilt, then reburned, then built again. Out of it all came the marvelous nave, with its incredibly rich carving. "Two thousand nine hundred and seventy-six capitals, no two carved alike, monsieur," the sacristan informed the Spectator, impressively. "There is no such cathedral anywhere in the world as this."

Yet it all looks harmonious, even the central tower, which was built centuries after the western ones, and the two short transepts, which are as freely different as the innumerable capitals. It is a great chronicle in stone, with every page full of beauty and strength. And the other chronicle of Bayeux supplements it, and shows what manner of men those fighting, building Normans were in their heyday of battle and glory. Down a grass-grown street, in a little low building with its wall along one side of a quiet, tree-shaded square, the Spectator found the sign

TAPISSERIE DE LA REINE MATHILDE

and stepped inside, filled with a lively curiosity to see this famous human document. What he saw was not walls hung with arras, as he had vaguely expected, but upright glass cases all around a long room, and a single seamless strip of em-

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broidered linen running round the space—a strip two hundred feet long, indeed, but only twenty inches wide, and more resembling an immensely elongated sampler than anything else.

Queen Matilda's sampler, however, did not deal with cross-stitch or maxims. It had a border at top and bottom, where fancy and grotesquerie held as free sway as in the cathedral columns. It had a running inscription, too, in mediæval Latin, meandering irregularly though its varied scenes. But the story that pulsed along that strip of tapestry was a moving picture. Matilda had no camera, no film, no sheet and lantern, but she had the true motion-picture idea. One could make the Bayeux tapestry into a film, and run it to-morrow, and it would be intelligible to any audience. There is a real quality of motion in it, too. Its horses prance, its ships forge forward, its figures rush and poise and fall. One begins by considering them comic, and ends by admiring the epic they convey. Napoleon knew what he was about when he caused this memorial of how France had once conquered England to be brought to Paris and exhibited when he was planning a second invasion of Britain. It is a proud record of conquest, and the fact that it is entirely out of drawing only serves to make it more striking, like a misspelled epic, the more one looks at it.

The stitches, to the Spectator's untutored eye, looked as if anybody could do them. The colors are faded and few, and used without discrimination—a horse may be red, blue, or green, a tree yellow or indigo, at will. The cloth on which the embroidery is done in outline fashion, once white, is now light-brown with age. The scenes begin with Edward the Confessor, all in a heap on his throne, but still wearing his best crown and scepter, and sending Harold, who looks very small and disappointed, to tell Duke William that he is to be his heir. After fighting of all kinds and dire portents, William bestirs himself to invade England and punish Harold. The trees are chopped down to make ships, the tuns of wine are put aboard, the horses and footmen gather, and even the butchers and cooks are shown cutting up the oxen and sheep and serving them to the army. The ships land, Duke William harangues his soldiers, and the battle commences, with a really fine sweep of horses and men forward and forward still. The fancy arabesques on the border, of birds and fish and griffins and monsters, now change to wounded and dying soldiers in every conceivable position. Bishop Odo spurs before his troops; Harold's brothers are slain; William rallies his men; the English are cut to pieces; Harold goes down—and there the strip ends abruptly, and we can believe either of the two stories about it, that some vandal cut off the last half-yard, representing William's coronation as King, or that Queen Matilda died and the tapestry was never finished. Nobody knows, and one person's guess is as good as another's.

Of course there are people who say that Matilda didn't do it, anyway. But the Spectator finds aid and support in Freeman's stanch opinion that it was nearly contemporary with the Conquest. In that case, Matilda is the most probable one to have planned it, and to have made it to fit the nave of Odo's cathedral. It is a queenly performance, and quite in keeping with what we know of her, and of her comradeship of spirit with her great husband. Whoever planned that embroidered Iliad understood and loved Duke William, and managed to get the feeling on the canvas so plainly that to-day, as one keen feminine observer has said, "You may be a devoted adherent of Harold, but, as you examine the tapestry, by the time you reach the Battle of Hastings you are on the side of William; and this seems the strongest evidence that it is the handiwork of Matilda herself." The Spectator believes, and enjoys believing, for his part, that a great love, stronger than death, stronger than the centuries, breathes through the faded colors of "*le tapisserie de la Reine Mathilde.*"

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ON SAINT-GAUDENS'S STATUE OF LINCOLN

BY FREDERICK BURTON EDDY

A little group of merry children played
  Around the statue's base, where, gaunt and tall,
  His image stands—the bronze memorial
Unto his greatness that Saint-Gaudens made—
In thoughtful posture, carelessly arrayed
  In loose, ill-fitting clothes, that somehow fall
In graceful lines,—as one wrapped in a thrall
Of thought, who pauses, sad, yet undismayed.

And on the sad, calm face, where deep lines tell
  His suffering and unimagined woe,
I fancied as their laughter rose and fell
  A smile played round his lips with sad, sweet glow—
A smile like His who in far Galilee
Said, "Let the little children come to me."

A LAW STUDENT'S RECOLLECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BY JESSE W. WEIK[1]

JONATHAN BIRCH, the author of the narrative which follows, one of my oldest and stanchest friends, was admitted to the bar late in the fifties on an examination by Abraham Lincoln. Having heard his account of the incident, I often urged him to write for publication, but, being averse to appearing in print, he invariably declined. He was a Union soldier for three years, having at the time of his muster-out attained the grade of major in his regiment, the Sixty-third Indiana Infantry, Volunteers. After his war days he was married and settled in my native city, Greencastle, Indiana, where for over forty years he followed his profession, meanwhile filling the offices of city attorney and mayor in succession. A successful lawyer and an eloquent public speaker, he was, withal, one of the most modest men I ever knew, and so reluctant to call attention to himself that scarcely more than a half-dozen of his friends and neighbors knew of his acquaintance or association with the immortal Lincoln. The account which follows was found among his papers after his death in April, 1906:

"There was, indeed, something remarkably strange and unique in the character and personality of Abraham Lincoln. To have known him personally, to have been often in his company, to have been in the same office with him, when, in one of his melancholy moods, he sat for hours with scarcely a word for anybody, then to have seen his countenance light up as his familiar friends gathered about him; to have listened to his stories and reveled in his inexhaustible stores of wit; and, above all, to have seen and heard him as, standing before some vast audience, his soul thrilled with passion and seemingly almost inspired, he discussed some great theme, and, by his irresistible logic and captivating eloquence, swayed the multitude at his will—to have thus seen and known and heard this greatest of Americans, I can but esteem as among the most interesting and fortunate events of my life.

"A student just out of college, I went

[1] It will be remembered that Mr. Weik was joint author with W. H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, of a Life of Abraham Lincoln.

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into my brother's office in Bloomington, Illinois, to study law. Mr. Lincoln, as a practicing lawyer, was at that time in regular attendance at all the courts in that county. He frequently dropped into my brother's office, and there it was that I was first introduced to him, and learned to admire him for his singular but sterling traits of character and for his commanding ability. He often talked to me, and, knowing that I was fresh from college, seemed to delight in asking questions which I could not and which I am sure he never expected me to answer, but which, in view of his broad knowledge and practical experience, gave him an excellent opportunity to analyze and explain for my benefit. It generally happened that he made his point clear by the recital of a story which, though sometimes a little *outré*, was invariably so applicable that I never forgot it.

"Having no office of his own, Mr. Lincoln, when not engaged in court, spent a good deal of his time in the clerk's office. Very often he could be seen there, surrounded by a group of lawyers and such persons as are usually found about a court-house, some standing, others seated on chairs or tables, listening intently to one of his characteristic and inimitable stories. His eyes would sparkle with fun, and when he had reached the point in his narrative which invariably evoked the laughter of the crowd, nobody's enjoyment was greater than his. An hour later he might be seen in the same place or in some law office near by, but alas, how different! His chair, no longer in the center of the room, would be leaning back against the wall; his feet drawn up and resting on the front rounds so that his knees and chin were about on a level; his hat tipped slightly forward, as if to shield or hide his face; his eyes no longer sparkling with fun and merriment, but sad and downcast, and his hands clasped around his knees. There, drawn up within himself, as it were, he would sit, the very picture of dejection and gloom. Thus absorbed have I seen him sit for hours at a time, defying the interruption of even his closest friends. No one ever thought of breaking the spell by speech; for, by his moody silence and abstraction, he had thrown about him a barrier so dense and impenetrable that no one dared to break through. It was a strange picture, and one I have never forgotten.

"But there was a tender side to Mr. Lincoln's nature which no one more deeply appreciated than the man who sought his comfort and advice. Somehow—probably because of the recollection of his own early struggles—his heart seemed especially filled with sympathy and concern for the young man whose footsteps took him in the direction of the law, as an incident in which the writer was the beneficiary will fully attest.

"A number of young men—Adlai Stevenson, late Vice-President of the United States, and I among them—had for some time been studying in the various law offices of Bloomington, Illinois, and were anxious for a license, that we might begin practice. No person could practice law in Illinois at that time without a license from the Supreme Court of the State. For the purpose of granting licenses the State was divided into three districts, Bloomington being in the district with headquarters at Chicago, to which place we had to go for examination. About a half-dozen of us went together. On our arrival we found that a rule had been made providing that no person should be examined who had not studied at least two years in some practicing lawyer's office. As most of us—including Stevenson and myself—had not fulfilled this requirement, we were compelled, much to our disappointment and chagrin, to return without the required license. When Mr. Lincoln heard of it, he sent word to me to come to see him. I did so, and he told me that they had no such rule in the Springfield district. He thereupon directed me to go to Springfield, get a certificate of good moral character from that place, and write *from there* to the Supreme Court, asking that a special committee be appointed to make the examination. I did as directed, and in a few days received a letter appointing Mr. Lincoln a member of the committee. I took the letter to him, and he requested me to come to his room at the hotel in Bloomington early the next morning. I went, and he proceeded promptly with the examination. I remember his first question was, 'What books

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have you read?' When I had told him, he said, 'Well, that is more than I had read before I was admitted to practice.' Then he paused long enough to tell a story of something that befell him in a county in southern Illinois where he once tried a case in which he was pitted against a college-bred lawyer who apparently had studied all the books and was very proud of the accomplishment. The court and all the lawyers were profoundly impressed by the man's wonderful store of learning, but it was all lost on the jury, 'And they,' said Lincoln, laughingly, 'were the fellows I was aiming at.'

"Then he resumed his examination, but some of the things he asked, though calculated to test one's memory, it appeared to me bore but a faint relation to the practice of law. He fired his questions at me somewhat rapidly, scarcely giving me time to answer properly, and never indicating by look, word, or gesture whether I was right or wrong. Presently, and even before I was prepared for the announcement, he stopped somewhat abruptly, saying, 'Well, I reckon I've asked you enough,' wheeled about in his chair, and proceeded to write out a certificate recommending me for license, meanwhile giving me some kind advice as to my future course of study, which latter, it occurred to me, was about the first thing that had been said to indicate that the entire proceeding was, after all, an examination to test the applicant's ability to practice law. With the certificate he gave me in my pocket, I repaired to Springfield, and there, without further difficulty, received my license.

"In the course of a few years after this incident the war broke out, and Mr. Lincoln was called to assume his great responsibility as President. I entered the army, and during the course of the war my company, after I had been promoted captain, was on detached service at Indianapolis. A recruit was enlisted and mustered into the company by the name of Adam K. Danes. He had been in the company but a short time when he slipped out of camp and deserted. He was soon arrested and tried before a court martial on the charge of desertion and treason, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. Although I had known him but a short time, yet he was a member of my company, and my sympathies were aroused, as I believed the sentence was unnecessarily severe. He was young, without education, and, as I believe, not a bad-hearted boy. An effort was made by some of the military authorities at Indianapolis to secure a modification of the sentence, but without success. It was against the rules for any officer in the army to address the President upon any matter connected with the military service except through the regular military channels. But as I had known the President personally, I concluded to take my chances, and wrote a personal note to him telling him that the boy was sentenced to be shot on the charge of desertion and treason; that for desertion alone the death penalty had not yet been inflicted in that department, and that the treason consisted in being found in a saloon with others cheering for Jeff Davis and the Southern Confederacy. I said that, while prominent men in a State as peaceful and loyal as Indiana were allowed to make speeches denouncing the Government and encouraging a spirit of disloyalty, I did not believe it right that the illiterate boy should be executed. I received no answer to my letter, but on the morning of the day fixed for the execution a despatch was received from Washington in these words:

"Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., September 29, 1863.

Officer in Command at Indianapolis, Ind.:

Please suspend execution of Adam Danes till further order from me. A. LINCOLN.

Nothing more was heard from Mr. Lincoln on the subject for two years. Then Danes was sent to the Dry Tortugas for a short period, and later discharged.

"In his physical make-up Mr. Lincoln could not be said to be a man of prepossessing personal appearance; but his splendid head and intellectual face made up in large measure for all his physical defects, if such they might be called. When intellectually aroused, he forgot his embarrassment, his eyes kindled, and even in his manner he was irresistible. It is well known that he was more or less careless of his personal attire, and that he usually wore, in his great canvass with Douglas, a linen coat, generally without any vest, a hat much the worse for wear,

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and carried with him a faded cotton umbrella which became almost as famous in the canvass as Lincoln himself. Late one afternoon during this canvass I boarded the train at Bloomington, soon after which Mr. Lincoln himself entered the same car in which I was seated, wearing this same linen coat and carrying the inevitable umbrella. On his arm was the cloak that he was said to have worn when he was in Congress nine years before. He greeted and talked freely with me and several other persons whom he happened to know, but as night drew on he withdrew to another part of the car where he could occupy a seat by himself. Presently he arose, spread the cloak over the seat, lay down, somehow folded himself up till his long legs and arms were no longer in view, then drew the cloak about him and went to sleep. Beyond what I have mentioned he had no baggage, no secretary, no companion even. At the same time his opponent, Judge Douglas, was traveling over the State in his private car, surrounded by a retinue of followers and enjoying all the luxuries of the period.

"Lincoln entered the canvass with Douglas feeling that it was no mere question of party politics, but that it was, as he himself expressed it, the old eternal question of right and wrong. It was during this canvass that I heard him in one of his great speeches, when, with every fiber of his being tremulous with emotion and his eyes melting with tenderness, he passionately exclaimed: 'Judge Douglas is nothing and I am nothing, but these principles about which we contend here to-day will live to affect the people long after Judge Douglas and I shall have been buried and forgotten.' The melting pathos with which Mr. Lincoln said this, and its effect upon his audience, cannot be described."

TYPHOID AND TUBERCULOSIS—THE PUBLIC'S RESPONSIBILITY

BY EARL MAYO

This is the third article in the series "Big Battles Against Disease," in the preparation of which the author has had the assistance of eminent physicians, surgeons, laboratory workers, and scientific experimenters in the field of medicine and surgery.—THE EDITORS.

A FEW months ago there appeared in different parts of New York City a number of cases of typhoid fever. The outbreak was not sufficiently widespread to be called an epidemic, but the number of cases was large enough to attract the attention of the health authorities of the city, who are ever on the alert to investigate any unusual manifestation of this disease. The cases reported were so scattered that they obviously did not all arise from a source of infection local to any one point in the city, nor were they numerous enough to be attributed to any general cause applying to the whole city. This fact suggested an examination of the milk supply of the households in which the disease made its appearance. Investigation revealed the fact that all the families in which typhoid fever had appeared purchased their milk from one company.

Following the trail back through the milk company, it was found that the particular consignments of infected milk were shipped from a certain town in the northern part of the State of New York. Local investigation in this town revealed the fact that for many years previous cases of fever had been so prevalent that the name of this town was applied to the disease, although in reality it was typhoid fever and nothing else.

One of the residents of the town was the proprietor of a dairy farm who sold milk locally, and irregularly shipped to New York the oversupply not required for local use. It was found that the farmer himself was the source of the

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typhoid bacilli that had given rise to the many cases of fever in the vicinity and also to a smaller number in New York City, more than three hundred miles away. The farmer had had an attack of typhoid *forty-seven years before*. During all of the intervening period the bacilli probably had been present in his system and he had been spreading the disease, unconsciously of course, but none the less disastrously.

This case was fully investigated by officials of the Department of Health of New York City, and is classed by them as one of the most remarkable cases on record of a "typhoid carrier." The term itself is one of only recent use in the history of the fight against typhoid fever. It was not until a few years ago that the discovery was made that about four per cent of those who undergo attacks of this disease continue to carry typhoid bacilli in their systems for long periods after their recovery, and thus become sources of more or less widespread infection. Records of many cases have been made of late. One that attracted much popular attention was that of a cook in New York whose course for fifteen years had been marked by outbreaks of typhoid in every household in which she was employed. In some instances typhoid bacilli have been found in the intestinal passages of persons who never have had the disease, or at least never in a form serious enough to bring them under the care of a physician. In such cases the infection usually can be traced to some member of the household who has had typhoid.

The discovery of the existence of typhoid carriers is a most important step in the progress toward the control and prevention of typhoid fever. It directs attention to the most subtle mode by which the disease travels, and enables steps to be taken to put an end to outbreaks which otherwise never would be traced to their true source. The discovery by which it was made possible to gain this knowledge is worth referring to briefly because it had an important bearing upon a number of maladies. Like most of the important discoveries in reference to infectious diseases, it was made as a result of experiments on animals.

In the early nineties a German scientist named Pfeiffer found that by inoculating guinea-pigs with gradually increasing doses of the germs of various diseases, among them typhoid fever, the animals ultimately were able to resist the toxic action of these germs, so that the injection of vast numbers of the microbes was attended by no ill effects. Through the development of some undefined resisting or overpowering force in their systems the animals had acquired immunity from this particular form of toxic infection.

In further observations made for the purpose of determining what happened to the microbes in the bodies of these immunized animals Pfeiffer discovered that, instead of multiplying and spreading, as they do under favorable conditions, the bacteria became clumped together and gradually dissolved. By some process not fully understood the circulatory fluids of the body had learned how to attack the disease-bearing micro-organisms, to rob them of their poisonous quality, and to destroy them. It was found also that the blood serum from an artificially immunized animal exercised the same effect on the bacteria, causing them to come together in masses and to dissolve.

The result of this discovery was far-reaching, for it furnished a means of determining with almost infallible accuracy the existence or non-existence of the bacteria of a certain disease in a suspected case, and is therefore of great value in diagnosis. Obviously, it is inconvenient to observe the action of bacteria in the presence of immunized blood serum in the peritoneal cavity of a human being. The same result can be accomplished in another way, for the same action will take place if the bacteria and the serum are brought together in a test tube, the bacteria grouping and falling to the bottom of the tube. This is known as the agglutination test. It was applied by Widal to typhoid, and in this connection it is referred to as the Widal test.

It is by means of this test that the presence of the toxic bacilli in the systems of typhoid carriers is determined, and it is of decided value in determining the character of many cases of illness which are not wholly clear. By testing a drop of the blood serum of a person suspected of having typhoid with a laboratory culture

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of typhoid bacilli the presence of the disease, if it actually exists, can be determined by the clumping of the cultured bacilli. The importance of this, not only in enabling the proper method of treatment to be applied, but also in making it possible to take precautions against the spread of the disease, can hardly be overestimated.

As in the case of some of the infectious diseases referred to in the article on "The Conquest of Germ Diseases,"[1] attempts have been made to confer on human beings immunity from typhoid fever by inoculation with the dead bacilli of typhoid. These attempts have been attended by a great degree of success. The plan has been tried more extensively among soldiers than elsewhere, since there is particular danger of typhoid epidemics in army camps. One case is on record in the British army of a regiment a majority of the members of which were inoculated twice just before their departure for India. Immediately on their arrival in India they encountered an epidemic of the fever. Sixty-three cases of the disease occurred in this regiment. Of these, sixty-two were of men who had not been inoculated. Only one case occurred among the men who had been inoculated, and that one was a soldier who had received the treatment only once, instead of twice. Very encouraging results have been obtained elsewhere among British troops as well as in the German army and among American soldiers in the Philippines.

In the Spanish-American War, out of a little more than 100,000 United States troops, more than 20,000, or about one in five, underwent attacks of typhoid, and over 1,500 died of the disease. According to the results obtained elsewhere by inoculation, the adoption of this practice in the war between the United States and Spain would have saved hundreds of lives and would have prevented thousands of cases of the disease among the American troops.

The one doubtful point in connection with the use of inoculation as a protection against typhoid fever seems to be the length of the period for which immunity is conferred. The tests made thus far indicate that this period is relatively a brief one. For this reason more attention has been given to the control of the disease and the removal of its causes than to prevention by inoculation.

Typhoid fever was unknown a century ago. That does not mean that it did not exist, but only that it was not distinguished from typhus fever as a separate disease. Its rapid increase during the middle period of the nineteenth century, however, attracted greater attention to it, and the occurrence of serious epidemics led physicians and scientists to study its causes and the methods of its transmission. The bacillus of the disease was discovered by Eberth, a German investigator, in 1880, and additional knowledge concerning it was contributed by Koch and others. For thirty years, therefore, it has been known that every case of typhoid, or enteric fever, as it sometimes is called, is due to the invasion of the system by the bacteria of the disease passing from some other case of the same ailment. It has been learned that the bacilli are given off principally with the bodily wastes, that they are hardy enough to withstand long periods of exposure and freezing cold, that they travel long distances in water, milk, and other media, and that they are introduced into the body in the great majority of cases through the mouth in liquids or solid foods. It follows that in every instance where typhoid manifests itself in sufficient volume to be dignified by the name of an epidemic, it is due to ignorance or carelessness in the failure to destroy the bacteria that arise from every case of the disease. The exercise of thorough care in destroying the typhoid bacilli at their source would mean that the disease soon would be entirely eliminated.

Since many cases of typhoid are not promptly diagnosed or reported, however, and some are so mild that physicians are not called in, it becomes important to guard the chief sources of infection by provision of a pure water supply inspection of milk, vegetables, and shellfish, by keeping flies out of the house and away from food, and by insisting upon thorough cleanliness and sanitation in and about living and eating quarters. If the community and the household give attention to these elementary precautions, they are

[1] In The Outlook for January 28 last.

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unlikely to be invaded by the disease. An illustration of this truth may be found in the fact that, unlike many other infectious diseases, typhoid is more generally and more constantly prevalent in rural than in urban communities. In the city the disposal of sewage and garbage is attended to by the municipality, and outbreaks of typhoid are due usually to the contamination of water or milk supplies, or to some such general infection. In the country these matters are left to the individual. The provisions made to prevent infection are often woefully inadequate, if not absolutely lacking, and scattered cases of the disease are found to exist year after year.

The main cause of typhoid epidemics in cities is contamination of the water supply. An authority on the disease estimates that this accounts for about forty per cent of the city cases.[1] A physician who has had much experience with typhoid believes that twenty-five per cent of the cases in the country as a whole are due to the infection of drinking-water. The greater prevalence of the disease in cities of the United States than in those of western Europe may be attributed to the fact that precautions for the purification of the water supply are less general in this country.

The arrangement of the water supply in many American cities suggests that it was designed primarily to promote the distribution of typhoid and kindred diseases. Water is taken from streams that receive the wastes of many communities in their upper courses, and is served to the citizens without any attempt at purification, or else it is drawn from a lake into which the sewage of the city itself is dumped at points close to the intake of the water system. This latter condition is true of many of the cities situated on the Great Lakes. In Chicago, before the opening of the drainage canal, it was possible on many occasions visibly to trace the course of sewage emptied into Lake Michigan from the outlets of sewers and of the Chicago River to the mouths of the cribs that supplied the city with water. The discoloration of the surface showed the route followed. The opening of the drainage canal, by carrying the greater part of the city sewage away from the water supply, caused an immediate fall in the number of cases of typhoid, although the contaminating material that still invades the water along the lake front probably is responsible for a considerable number of cases. In Cleveland, another lake city, it was possible before the improvement of the water system to trace increases of typhoid at certain times directly to the action of winds from certain quarters, which carried the sewage emptied into Lake Erie towards the points in the lake where the intakes of the water supply were located, and at other times to heavy rains, which caused unusual scouring of the Cuyahoga River and carried extraordinary quantities of the accumulated mud and filth from the bed of the stream into the lake. The typhoid problem in cities which draw their water supply from the same bodies of water into which they pour their sewage is likely to be solved only by the adoption of effective filtration methods or by strict Federal regulation of the location of sewage outlets and water intakes in navigable waters. One of the discouraging features encountered in fighting typhoid epidemics in such cities is that each outbreak feeds itself, more typhoid bacilli entering the sewage when the disease is prevalent, with correspondingly greater chances of increased infection of the water supply.

In the cases of cities obtaining their water from running streams the criminal carelessness is often committed of using water which is extensively contaminated by communities or manufacturing plants farther upstream. A theory frequently expounded in defense of this practice is the mischievous one that running water purifies itself. While this is true in a measure, it has been demonstrated that in reality it purifies itself less rapidly than standing water, or at least that the strong current of a stream will carry infectious bacteria farther than the changing currents of a large lake. Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts, are examples of cities that suffered for many years from frequent typhoid outbreaks, traceable directly to the sewage emptied into the upper reaches of the Merrimac River from the cities and mills along its banks. So serious did conditions become that Lowell abandoned the river as the source of its

[1] "Typhoid Fever," by George C. Whipple.

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supply, while Lawrence met the situation by installing a filtration plant. In both cases these actions were followed by an immediate and permanent decrease of typhoid. Pittsburgh, which long enjoyed the unenviable distinction of having the highest death rate from typhoid of all of the larger cities of the country, derives its water supply from the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, both of which are bordered by many towns and cities, making the infection of these streams practically inevitable even if they were not used as sewage repositories. Many hundreds and probably thousands of lives have been sacrificed to typhoid in Pittsburgh since the lesson of its high death rate became clearly evident and during the slow progress of work on the filtration plant recently completed by the city.

The clearness of water used for drinking purposes is no guarantee of its freedom from typhoid bacilli, as was demonstrated by the experience of Plymouth, Pennsylvania, in the middle eighties. The water supply for this town was drawn from mountain streams flowing through a territory almost uninhabited. A single house was located on a bank high above one of the smaller supply streams. In this house occurred a case of typhoid fever, and the slops from the sick-room were thrown upon the frozen ground sloping down to the stream. A thaw occurred, accompanied by rain, which washed this accumulated supply of bacteria into the stream, and ten days later a typhoid outbreak in the town betrayed the promptness with which the bacilli had been carried into the homes of the unsuspecting citizens.

Next to contaminated water, the most prolific source of typhoid fever in American cities is infected milk. This is responsible for perhaps one-fifth to one-quarter of the cases. The long and devious course which the bacilli of the disease may follow in the milk supply to reach their victims was shown by the incident related at the beginning of this article. Oysters fattened in waters which receive the discharge of sewers and green vegetables raised in gardens fertilized with the contents of closet vaults are recognized as other agencies for the spread of the disease. In recent years it has come to be realized that common house-flies passing from manure piles and cesspools to kitchens and dining-rooms play an important part in spreading typhoid. An instance of this kind occurred a few years ago among the prisoners of the county jail at New Haven, Connecticut. Tests of the water and the milk used showed that these were not at fault. Near the kitchen of the jail were a number of old houses with unscreened closets behind them. The food prepared for prisoners at the jail was exposed on long tables behind open windows to which swarms of flies had access, and the method by which these flies had conveyed the disease germs was at once evident.

While the guarding of water, milk, oysters, vegetables, and fruits, and the rigid exclusion of flies, are important precautions against typhoid fever at the present time, the only way in which the disease can be stamped out is by preventing its spread beyond the home of the individual sufferer from the disease. To accomplish this a thorough understanding is demanded, on the part of those in charge of the invalid, of the importance of destroying all bacteria from the case. Even more important is a strong public sentiment which shall demand the prompt reporting of cases by the physicians in attendance, the exercise of thorough precautions to guard each case, and investigation by the health authorities to determine and remove the cause of every outbreak. With such provisions, particularly in the rural sections of those States between the Great Lakes and the Gulf, a decided decrease in the number of cases of typhoid fever would result.

As a consequence of the efforts that have been made to bring about improved sanitary conditions there has been a marked decrease of typhoid fever in the United States. Forty years ago the chance of contracting the disease at some period of one's life was one out of five; to-day it is less than one out of ten. The death rate from the disease was decreased 60 per cent in the twenty-five years between 1880 and 1905. There are very wide fluctuations in different cities and communities, however, many of them having typhoid death rates five or six times as high as the average for the whole country. With a better appreciation of the

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vital importance of preventing the spread of infection from each case that develops, the mortality can easily be reduced to one-tenth of what it now is, and this would make the disease one of negligible importance.

It was the dictum of Pasteur that "it is within the power of man to banish all germ diseases from the earth." This statement of course assumes an ideal state of affairs not likely to be realized soon. Its truth, however, is demonstrated by what already has been accomplished in dealing with certain afflictions of this kind. In some diseases the matter of treatment and possible cure may be left to the individual and to his physician. In others, however, including those of an infectious nature, the careful are powerless against the careless and the intelligent are at the mercy of the ignorant. Public action is necessary, therefore, in order to prevent or even to restrict such diseases. The extent to which the public consciousness is aroused to the necessity of such united action for the common protection and the common good measures the degree of control exercised over these disease plagues. Typhoid fever and tuberculosis are perhaps as widespread and as typical of this class of diseases as any that can be mentioned. This is the only reason for considering both of them in the same article, for they have nothing in common except that both are highly communicable, and so require united action, backed either by the force of law or of united public opinion, to prevent their spread and ultimately to eliminate them entirely.

Cases of typhoid fever ordinarily come under the doctor's care almost at their inception, and the use of strong disinfectants in and about the sick-room to destroy the germs and prevent the spread of the disease is, in the majority of cases, enforced. With tuberculosis, however, the task of limiting the disease is much more difficult. Using the word tuberculosis in its popular sense, to indicate pulmonary tuberculosis, it is an affection of slow development, and so may not come under the observation of a physician until it is well advanced. Even when cases have reached a severe stage, it is often found among the uneducated classes that persons will not consult a physician because of their terror of having the disease officially pronounced tuberculosis and because they fear that they will be separated from their families and homes. Although such cases are encountered, the general attitude toward the disease is much more enlightened than it formerly was. Probably no other disease ever caused more acute mental suffering than did tuberculosis in the days when it was believed that it was hereditary and that every person who contracted it was doomed to inevitable death. Now, thanks to the experiments performed on many animals by Klencke, Villemin, and others, and to Dr. Koch's identification of the tubercle bacillus by this means in 1882, the outlook as regards tuberculosis is far more hopeful. We know that it is not inherited, that it is communicable and therefore preventable, and that it can be arrested, especially if it is taken in its early stages. This knowledge has not only given hope to those afflicted with the disease and has encouraged them to exert themselves to shake it off by proper measures, but it has also lifted a pall of fear from the minds of many who lived in daily dread of the manifestation of the disease in themselves because some member of their family had had it.

So much has been written and said about tuberculosis during the past few years that almost every one is familiar with its main features. We know that its spread is attributed to tubercle bacilli freed from the sputum of tuberculous persons, floating in the air or clinging to the furnishings of rooms, and to a less degree to tiny bubbles expelled in coughing and sneezing. We know that the treatment accorded to persons suffering from tuberculosis includes, rather than drugs or medicines, plenty of outdoor air and a diet calculated to build up strength and tissue. Most of us know among our own circle of acquaintance of persons who have recovered from the disease.

The modern method of treating tuberculosis was originated by Dr. Edward L. Trudeau, who went to Saranac Lake, in the Adirondack Mountains of northern New York, in 1873, with what was pronounced an incurable case of tuberculosis. By open-air living in the high altitude of the Adirondacks he restored himself to health and

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founded the cottage sanatorium method of treating the disease, which has resulted in the saving of many hundreds of lives and has shaped the methods now generally followed in the treatment of tuberculosis. Before Trudeau's work and personal experience demonstrated the soundness of these methods the usual procedure in treating tuberculous persons was one suited chiefly to aggravating the disease and hastening its course. It included the rigid exclusion of fresh air from the invalid's room to avoid draughts, the maintenance of a high temperature, and the administration of drugs in an effort to relieve the strain of coughing. The mere enumeration of these measures, the very antithesis of those now relied upon, indicates the debt which sufferers from this disease owe to Dr. Trudeau for the improved conditions and the more hopeful outlook which he has given them.

The remarkable fact about tuberculosis to-day is not so much the increased knowledge of the disease which the medical profession, and even the members of the lay public, have gained, as the awakening of the public consciousness to the importance of fighting this disease and to the possibility of putting an end to it. This has come about as the result of a world-wide campaign. The social aspects of the tuberculosis problem are almost as important as its medical features, and consequently there is a field for the layman in supplanting the activities of the medical profession and the health authorities in the struggle against this disease.

From local bodies up to the great International Congress which met in Washington two years ago and brought together those who are fighting against this disease in every part of the world, a vast army is enlisted in the war upon tuberculosis. In the United States an active campaign is being waged by the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, through its press bureau and through public speakers and meetings. This movement is reinforced by the action of a great number of public and private agencies, and it is estimated that $8,000,000 a year is being expended in the United States in combating this one disease. In a number of the States there are well-organized campaigns, and a brief description of the methods by which this campaign is being carried on in New York may serve to illustrate the methods relied upon to restrict the spread of tuberculosis.

Under the direction of the State Charities Aid Association and the State Department of Health the knowledge of the methods by which tuberculosis is spread, the dangers of careless expectoration, and the measures to be employed to ward off the disease are being brought home to every person in the State, in a variety of ways. Newspaper articles and advertisements, street-car signs and billboard displays, cards to be placed in the pay envelopes of workingmen and to be distributed in schools and churches, contain concise and valuable information to be applied by the individual. Tuberculosis exhibits are displayed at county fairs and in the various towns and cities, and week-long meetings characterized by something of the methods of the old-fashioned religious revival are held in the larger places. These meetings are addressed by speakers who drive home salient facts about tuberculosis. Smaller traveling exhibits with phonograph records of lectures are sent to the lesser towns. City, village, and county organizations are formed in different parts of the State to co-operate in the work, and are supplied with material for use in local exhibits, lectures, and meetings. The slogan adopted for this crusade is, "No uncared-for tuberculosis in 1915." To this end a special campaign is being conducted to bring about the erection of hospitals and sanatoria in every county in the State. Already nine counties have established such hospitals, and many others are considering the matter. The city of New York maintains a large sanatorium for tuberculosis at Otisville, New York. Buffalo, the second city of the State, is building one as a memorial to a former mayor, and several other New York cities are taking measures for the care of cases of the disease among their citizens. Labor organizations, fraternal societies, and large corporations are being interested in providing for the care of their members and their employees afflicted with the disease. One of the large insurance companies is erecting a sanatorium for those of its assured who may contract tuberculosis, believing that

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the saving which it will effect thereby will more than justify the expense.

Under the influence of these activities the death rate from tuberculosis is already declining in New York, although most of the measures are of too recent inception to have made their influence greatly felt as yet. In New York City the death rate from the disease among those under adult age, on whom the effect of improved conditions naturally would be earliest manifested, is only about fifty per cent of what it formerly was, and the best authorities on the disease agree that with the provision of care for all cases throughout the State a further reduction of fifty per cent will be made within the next decade.

The plans that are being followed in New York, though more elaborate than have yet been adopted in most parts of the Union, are typical of the means that are relied upon to check the spread of the disease and to reduce the mortality from existing cases.

The prompt recognition of the disease and the provision of adequate care and safeguards for all cases are essential to the stamping out or even to the limitation of tuberculosis. For this reason it is important that there should be in every community some health authority vested with power to order the prompt examination of all suspected cases. The exercise of such authority would lead to the recognition by all members of the medical profession of the necessity of promptly reporting all cases that come under their attention. It has been demonstrated that adequate care and precautions against the communication of the disease can best be obtained in institutions, and for this reason the building of sanatoria for the counties and for all the larger cities is important. For cases which cannot readily be transferred to such institutions a visiting nurse who can call upon tuberculous persons in their homes and exercise supervision over their cases is a needed supplementary measure. With these provisions, which include nothing impossible or difficult, nor even a very heavy expense, tuberculosis can be eradicated, perhaps not in ten years or twenty, but certainly within the next two generations; for it is demonstrated, in the cases of adults at least, that tuberculosis is conveyed to one human being only from another human being suffering from the disease. The proper care of all existing cases of tuberculosis, as of typhoid, would mean that no new cases could develop.

The responsibility for the continuance of tuberculosis as the worst scourge of mankind, and of typhoid fever as an affliction only less widespread, is squarely upon the public—not upon a vague, hazy, indefinite public upon which it is convenient to unload all our shortcomings, but upon each individual member of each community. If all men and women of intelligence will do their share in view of the enlightenment which science and experimental investigation have placed in their hands, tuberculosis and typhoid fever can be eradicated, and Pasteur's vision of a world freed from the horrors of infectious disease will be brought far nearer realization.

THE PLAN

BY FLORENCE D. SNELLING

To build the year with all things beautiful,
Then bid them by strange ways to cease to be;
To smite the land with whirlwind and with frost;
To lay earth's loveliness as low as earth;
To blur all color and to mar all form;
To still the song; at last to seal with snow;
Thus to undo the perfect work of life,—
And then to build anew, by blade and leaf,
Blossom and fruit and scent and sound and song,
Another year for self-same harvesting;—
This is the Plan by which are magnified
The Wisdom and the Power of the Lord.

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THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY[1]

BY THOMAS KIRKUP

IT will be remembered how the Labor party of Great Britain appeared with dramatic suddenness in the life of the country at the beginning of 1906. This party has now taken its place among British institutions. It marks an epoch in British history.

For some centuries the barons, including the bishops and abbots (who, by virtue of their landed possessions, had the rank of barons) dominated the English Parliament. The middle class had no great weight till the seventeenth century; the day of their ascendency did not come till the middle of the nineteenth century. During this long period the working class had no voice either in national or local government. There was indeed much legislation about labor, but little regard was paid to the wishes or interests of the laboring man or woman.

We need not wonder, therefore, that the time had at last come when the working class desired to form an independent party of its own; and let us not forget that under the mere party spirit there lay a human significance far deeper than class ambition or sectional prejudice. Whether we look to the past or the present, we may see, if we consider it rightly, a situation full of pathos. The matters involved in it are ultimately concerned with daily bread and a decent standard of life for the worker and his wife and children.

Let us take a few examples of his life in the past. Macaulay concludes that "in the reign of Charles the Second the ordinary wages of the peasant did not exceed four shillings [one dollar] a week." This was at a time when the average price of a bushel of wheat was a dollar and a half. The statisticians of the period estimated that one-fourth of the population of England was then in receipt of poor relief.

During the great French war of 1793–1815 the price of wheat sometimes rose to four, and in 1801 even to five and a half, dollars a bushel. At the large Government establishments the laborer's wage was under four dollars a week, while the four-pound loaf cost nearly half a dollar. In those days we may reckon the wage of the peasant in most districts of England at something like two dollars a week.

We are told on good authority that in 1842 five-sixths of the population of Rochdale had scarcely a blanket among them. In Paisley fifteen thousand persons were in a state of starvation, with little or no clothing and no bedding on which to lie. In one parish of Dorsetshire thirty-six persons, on an average, dwelt in each house.

There were periods in English history when labor fared better. The early half of the eighteenth century was marked by good harvests, just as the French Revolutionary wars saw a remarkable succession of very bad ones. The position of English labor has greatly improved since 1850. But the present writer, who was himself the son of a workingman, and who has therefore had an inside knowledge of labor all his life, can testify that the permanent feeling of the laborer is one of wrong and privation. It is this underlying feeling of wrong and privation which has accounted for much of the emigration to America and the colonies. The emigrant carries to his new home a sense of wrong and privation, which explains a good deal of what is unfortunate and regrettable in the relations of the new lands to the old country.

In such circumstances it is the more honorable to the new Labor party that it has shown so little rancor and bitterness in its relations to the old parties. I can testify from personal knowledge that the members of the Labor party are as good-humored as they are manly and disinterested. There has been a saying that every country gets the Jew that it deserves. We may likewise say that every country is likely to get the Labor party that it deserves. We might almost go on to say that Great Britain has got a better Labor party than it deserves.

This is a hopeful sign. We may see a

[1] In connection with this article by Mr. Kirkup, an English author and scholar, who has written extensively on educational, labor, and social topics, reference is made to an article by Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, which appeared in The Outlook for last week.—THE EDITORS.

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no less hopeful sign in the courteous and sympathetic reception which the old parties in the House of Commons have accorded to the new. Though the House to such a large extent consists of the landed and well-to-do classes, men claim for it a notable freedom from all forms of snobbery, condescension, and arrogance. It is an assembly which values its members on their intrinsic merits, and not according to an external standard of wealth or consideration. We may also claim for English political life generally a habit of fair play and good humor.

This spirit of conciliation, of compromise and good-humored give-and-take, explains many things in English life that would otherwise be unintelligible. When strikes and political crises appear to be taking a dangerous and tempestuous course, there still exists the habitual feeling, which many generations of storm successfully weathered have produced, that things will not be urged to a fatal extremity. Thus do we stop short of violence and of incurable disaster. Amid so much that is doubtful and ominous in our social politics, we may be allowed to claim the saving virtues of fair-mindedness and moderation.

While the Labor party appeared as a fully formed organization in 1906, steps had been taken towards the making of it so early as 1900. It was the outcome of a combination of two Socialist bodies (the Fabian Society and the Independent Labor party) with trade unions. The trade unions supply most of the funds and an overwhelming majority of the membership. The present Labor party may be regarded as the culmination of a very long and troubled process of trade union activity. In the ranks of the Labor party we may expect to find, and we do find, representative men from a wide variety of trades. We have railway men, gas workers, textile workers, seamen, and agricultural laborers. But the greatest number come from the miners, engineers, and workers in metal.

Mr. Keir Hardie, who may be accounted the founder of the Labor party, worked in the mines from the age of seven to twenty-four. He is one of the most revolutionary of his party, and uses very plain language. He is an advocate, under certain circumstances, of the general strike, which is universally admitted to be the last and most desperate resort of the agitator. Among his ancestors he reckons a Jacobite who was "out" in the Stuart Rebellion of 1745; but he reminds one much more of the Covenanters who took to the hills in resistance to the religious tyranny of the Stuarts in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Mr. Hardie belongs to the southwest of Scotland, the home of the Covenanters. He is still almost a young man, being only fifty-six, with fair hair turning white, and a look of wistful pathos, which probably tells of early hardship as well as of habitual sympathy with the hard lot of the worker. He seems to disdain the arts which are usually comprehended under the name of tact; but he has the pithy language which finds its way to the hearts of the people, and he is gifted with a poetic vein which was nourished in tender years by the songs of his mother and the tales and romances of his grandmother.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, Secretary of the Labor party, is a much younger man than Mr. Hardie, though his once jet-black hair is rapidly growing white. He was a clerk before he gave up all his time to labor politics. He is tactful, shrewd, and even subtle. While he can be critical enough on occasion, his book on "The Awakening of India," just published, shows a remarkable quickness of perception, width of sympathy, and open-mindedness. Mr. MacDonald has entered with notable facility into the British methods of Parliamentary life. He may be expected to go far before he has done with it.

Mr. Philip Snowden, another able and prominent member of the party, is quite a young man, with, we may believe, a long and interesting future before him. He started life as a civil servant. He, too, has tact and the open mind, and the power of moving large audiences of workingmen. Both Mr. Snowden and Mr. MacDonald receive much help in their public careers from their wives, who are very capable and attractive on the platform and in organizing work.

The three men we have named can hardly be called representative. Mr. Hardie, as we have said, is in opinion and

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in outspoken utterance akin to the revolutionary Socialist of the European Continent. Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden sat at the desk before they became Labor members. Men like Mr. Arthur Henderson, who was an iron founder, and Mr. Hudson, who was a railway guard for twenty-six years, stand more truly for the great body of Labor members. Nearly all of them began to work at a trade at a very early age, and have grown up amid the struggles and aspirations of the trade union life. It has been their mission to train the turbulent forces of militant labor in methods of organized peaceful and effective action. Their work as we now see it imperfectly realized is the result of nearly a century of hard and strenuous action, of trial and failure, of insight slowly forced on them through much adverse experience followed at last by comparative success.

All the members of the party may be described as self-educated. After a very short time at school they formed their minds by reading the Bible and "The Pilgrim's Progress," "Robinson Crusoe," Shakespeare, and Charles Dickens. Among the books that influenced them in their own special field of thought, Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," Carlyle's "Past and Present," and Ruskin's social-economic works appear to have had the first place. It is interesting to compare the results at which labor has now arrived with the vaticinations of Carlyle and Ruskin. These two prophets forecast an organization of labor, but under a semi-feudal system, in which captains of industry and a landed aristocracy have the leading part. In the actual course of events we see a striking contrast to these prophecies. Labor has been organized from within by the workers themselves, with no help from captains of industry or the landed aristocracy. Legislation has done some good. Enlightened members of the middle class have at certain stages given real furtherance to the trade union and co-operative movements; but the success of both is mainly due to the working class itself. This success is great and ever growing. The Labor party now represents nearly two millions of organized workingmen. The co-operative movement now numbers about 2,700,000 members; and as each member stands for a family, it may be taken to include a public equal to one-fourth of the population of the British Isles. These great forces have been organized since Carlyle published his "Past and Present," in 1843. It would be easy to point out defects in the two movements; but they are achievements which are marvelous in their present form and full of promise and of good example for the future. They are the result of a very varied experience extending over two generations.

We should recognize, however, that the moral earnestness and the high ideals of Carlyle and Ruskin must have done much to mold the mind and character of the Labor leaders. They are men in earnest. They have had tasks to perform which have impressed on them a very serious sense of responsibility. To an outside observer a strike may look merely like a hard and bitter struggle for mastery between opposing forces. The inside observer knows that it will mean privation and may mean starvation for women and children. The issues which a responsible Labor leader has to face make him an earnest man.

The striking words of Mr. E. R. Pease, Secretary of the Fabian Society, should be pondered: "It must be remembered that the trade union leader is the very reverse of a dangerous demagogue. He is, of necessity, a man of affairs, with an almost unique experience of men. On the one hand, he has to rule the somewhat turbulent democracy who are his paymasters; on the other, he has to deal with the employers, the captains of industry, the great capitalists of our staple trades. The men who control the big unions, who by a false move may precipitate a strike involving hundreds of thousands of families and hundreds of millions of capital, have learned caution in a hard school, and are not going to jeopardize the prosperity of the Empire by rash attempts at innovation or premature proposals for confiscation. If it were necessary to intrust the control of the country to a single class of men, I think the best class to select would be the trade union secretaries."

One cannot entirely agree with Mr. Pease. The trade union leaders must, of necessity, have a special and rather narrow

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outlook on the world and on human society; but Mr. Pease's statements bring out very clearly the hard and varied experience and the very serious feeling of responsibility which belong to their position. There can be no doubt that the members of the Labor party are men of high character. Most of them are sincerely religious men. Not a few of them have been Methodist lay preachers, and in that capacity have been trained to public speaking and to the knowledge and leadership of men. In such a strange way John Wesley continues from his grave to shape the lives of men even in the realm of politics.

To afford a glimpse of the physiognomy of English labor and its leaders we can hardly do better than give a brief account of a miners' gala in the county of Durham. It was held in brilliant weather at the historic city of Durham on Saturday, August 13, 1910, and was a complete success. The Durham Miners' Association has a membership of 117,000, with funds amounting to $2,300,000. During the year the chief items of expenditure were $410,000 for sickness and accidents, and $165,000 for men out of employment.

The gala was addressed by three leading members of the Labor party. Mr. G. N. Barnes, Chairman of the party, said that trade-unionism did not go so far as some of them could wish, but it must lie at the back of all other activities on behalf of the great laboring classes. It had found the workers of this country poor and dependent, and it had given them a hope and faith in themselves while improving their general condition. Mr. Philip Snowden warned the Durham miners against a growing tendency in the rank and file to disregard authority and discipline and to override and defy the calmly considered decisions of their accredited leaders. Such a condition of irresponsibility and anarchy, if allowed to spread in the trade union movement, would destroy it.

Mr. Keir Hardie, referring to the Miners' International Congress at Brussels, said that to-day the miners of Europe were, for all practical purposes, one organization. There was a power gathering that would be more effectual in maintaining peace than all other powers put together. He was there that day in the presence of a greater power than all the kings and emperors that ever lived, and he hoped to see the time when an organized working class would take its place in the politics of the world by declaring that on the day on which a war was declared tools would be dropped and every wheel stopped in every country affected by the war.

As we have seen, the British Labor party is a combination of trade unions with Socialist bodies, in which the former have an overwhelming majority of numbers. Events have shown that Socialist opinion is, on the whole, prevalent even among the trade unions. But it would be entirely wrong to conclude that the Labor party as such is Socialistic. The party, in fact, has not a definite programme, and it has not attempted to formulate one. It is partly Socialistic and partly radical, and the two sides have not yet come to terms with each other. The party does not definitely know its own mind; its theories and principles are still in the process of making.

There are some points, however, on which its views may be regarded as clear and definite. It lives and works to promote the rights and interests of labor. It is strongly opposed to war and militarism. It is also opposed to protection, though it does not regard free trade as a cure for industrial evils. It strongly supports temperance reform; the majority of its members are total abstainers. It also supports secular education as the best solution of a long and tedious controversy. It advocates Home Rule for Ireland, and is in most questions on friendly terms with the Irish National party. Land reform, both as regards town and country, is an important item in the vague creed of the Labor members, but it would not be easy to say what shape they would give to it if they had their way. On taxation, too, they have strong views. They would curtail or abolish the indirect taxes, which press so hard on the poor, and instead would heavily tax land values as well as large incomes and inheritances. Thus in legislation and administration alike the Labor party aims at the advancement of the class which it represents.

It is on the question of unemployment that the convictions of the Labor party have been most strongly and passionately expressed. Politicians and social reform-

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ers find this a problem of surpassing gravity. No country, unless it be Belgium, has, in proportion to its area, so large a population dependent on weekly wages as Great Britain. Among its many trades there are always some which suffer from irregular employment even in the best of times. One of the worst is the building trade, which, after a time of overproduction, has been passing through a long period of depression.

The Labor party has made what may be called a frontal attack on this great problem. It contends that local bodies should provide work, and, failing work, maintenance, for the unemployed. This is not so revolutionary a proposal as it may appear at first sight. These alternatives, work or maintenance, were the leading principles of the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601, the basis of all subsequent legislation in England regarding the poor. The same principles of providing work or maintenance were part of the old law of Prussia. But it will be obvious that what was practicable in simple agricultural communities like Elizabethan England or Prussia of the eighteenth century may be extremely difficult and risky in the very complex conditions of a modern industrial and commercial state. Leaders of the Liberal party were able to show that in the England of to-day such measures would have the most unsettling and disastrous consequences. The problem of the unemployed is still unsolved, and remains a dark and sinister feature in modern industrial life.

That the unemployed should have work or maintenance is to be regarded as an ideal rather than a proposal to be embodied in an Act of Parliament. It is a subject that should be approached from many sides. Insurance against unemployment to which workmen, employers, and the State should all contribute will do much to cure the evil. State and municipalities can to some degree correct the irregularities of a competitive industry by wisely starting or accelerating needful and profitable public works in times of depression. It would be a progressive and humanizing course to use such times of depression to lower the average working day nearer to eight hours, and thus raise the whole standard of life, physical, intellectual, and moral, of the working classes. In this way a great evil might be made an occasion for attaining the highest good of mankind.

In Great Britain and most other countries the question of the unemployed is made specially difficult by the fact that it is to a very large degree an obscure problem as to its extent, causes, and consequences. The unemployed are, unfortunately, a mixed multitude, in which from honest and efficient workmen we pass, by many insensible gradations, to the unemployable. Many of the unemployed have not the moral and physical stamina to do a decent day's work. We can tell how they have come to such a condition only by investigating each individual case. The causes of it may be constitutional, or it may simply be due to long habits of loafing and shirking of work, or it may be due to the most grievous of misfortunes. Let us take a simple case. If a laborer has had an attack of rheumatic fever, how can he regain the physical energy to perform a hard day's work? It is possible that he may, with nourishing food and long rest, but the difficulties are obvious.

Labor colonies appear to have been a total failure in Great Britain. In view of the fact that they have, in some cases at least, produced the most encouraging results on the European Continent, we should like to know the reasons of our failure. The present writer would suggest that we have not yet discovered the suitable men and the suitable methods. We need men who know how to exercise a firm, discriminating, and sympathetic discipline over the wreck and wastage of our social and industrial system. Unfortunately, the very name of discipline seems to be foreign to our methods of social reform. I cannot recollect a single occasion on which a Labor member, in book, pamphlet, or speech, has referred to the need of discipline for the restoration of the unemployed to their fitting place in the industrial society. The idea of discipline is not a favorite one in the English-speaking world. Yet it would be well to remember that John Milton, one of the foremost champions of modern freedom, has said:

> "Who would be free must first be wise and good."

Shall we always need to purchase freedom at so enormous a cost as we do now?

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It will be obvious that the British Labor party is not free from crudity and one-sidedness. It is a party, and we have never heard and never read in history of a sect or party that possessed the whole truth.

But we may be assured that, as a result of the coming of the new party, British politics and British history will never again be the same. Events like the Osborne judgment will only serve to call forth and confirm its power. It will make problems, which are most serious and continually growing, present and ever visible to the eyes of men. And though the problems are hard and urgent, their solution is hopeful. We have good will and we are gaining insight every day. Good will, guided by insight, will go far and do much.

BUSINESS ENERGY [1]

BY HERBERT G. STOCKWELL

TWO days prior to that on which a large note of his company would fall due the treasurer applied to the bank for a renewal. He was reminded by the cashier that the company had been "carried for some time." The cashier then suggested that serious efforts be made by the treasurer to reduce the amount of money borrowed at the bank. "We are now making arrangements with a capitalist to *energize* our plant, and we expect during the next month to be in a position to take up all of our loans," replied the treasurer,

This treasurer uttered a thought which finds a lodging-place in the minds of many manufacturers. Is it not natural for business men to regard the ability to command capital as the prime requisite to a successful business operation? "Give us plenty of the 'sinews of war,' and we will do the rest," they feel like saying, when hampered in their operations, apparently, for lack of capital.

Of course all business operations require capital, and in every case sufficient funds must somehow be provided if the operation is to continue. It is not intended to suggest anything contrary to this well-established principle. No one doubts that money will do almost anything, but without trained judgment and experienced management it will run a factory so long only as it can be poured into the treasurer's office. In the process of operating the plant by means of large capital the works may even take on an appearance of being energized; but when the easy funds have been exhausted, the former dead-and-alive condition inevitably returns.

Absence of real power in an organization cannot be concealed, any more than sterling gold can be substituted for sterling ability.

What is this real power, this energy? Go into that factory across the street and look about. You will not need to have the answer to the inquiry written in set words and phrases. Interested activity is written on every face seen, from the office boy who meets you at the door to the president who greets you in his private office. The hum of the swiftly moving machinery is but a tame representation of the moving force everywhere manifested. You do not have to be told that business is being successfully conducted in *that* establishment. The president himself appears to you as the incarnation of business. In him you sense the source of a potent force enlivening and enthusing all with whom he comes directly or indirectly in contact. Yet how calm and deliberate are his acts—his directions to those about him! Does this man lean upon money as an energizer? Most assuredly not. *He* can get anything he wants, including sufficient capital for his purposes.

Now go down the street to that other mill and see whether you can detect the difference in the atmosphere between the two. Yes, you feel the difference even

[1] The second of a series of five articles by Mr. Stockwell. The first appeared in The Outlook for January 14 last.—THE EDITORS.

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before you can accustom your mental vision to the lesser light. In place of the attentive office boy you first see upon coming in the office a young woman with a pencil in her mouth trying to operate the telephone with one hand while adjusting her hair with the other. All of the clerks are either absorbed in their work or idly standing about talking. After what seems a long time to you before attention is finally given, you get into the president's room, and there you find your friend at a desk heaped with a confusion of letters and papers of all sizes and shapes, trying to dictate to a stenographer at his side, while two clerks are standing before his desk seeking attention. One of these desires to ask whether an order amounting to an insignificantly small sum shall be shipped without more credit information concerning the buyer; while the other clerk brings a message from the superintendent of the mill to the effect that more coal must soon be obtained or the mill will have to slow down.

While you are standing there the telephone on the president's desk rings, and his utterances of welcome to you are broken off as he puts his mouth to the transmitter. His remarks indicate that a customer of the company is complaining about some delayed shipment of goods.

Here again you find concentrated, forceful energy, but of what a different quality! This man possesses and shows energy in every inch of him. It sticks out in every word, act, and motion; but from the impressions you receive regarding his assistants, this energy, this force, apparently *exists in him alone.* There is no doubt that he has plenty of it, but the difference between him and your other friend is that this man cannot communicate his force to others. It is bottled up in him! His personal push keeps things moving, but at what cost, what waste of power!

You feel like saying to him: "You human dynamo, how many times during the day do you feel like kicking the whole outfit about you into the street? Hanging about, as they do, dependent upon you, receiving continuously, but giving back no real help, you feel that nobody in the establishment takes any real interest in the work. Nobody tries to take some of the pack off your shoulders."

Does not a comparison of these two men disclose the main secret of successful operation? Is it not true that no one man can carry the whole burden forever on his shoulders? No amount of money will permanently *energize* such a plant.

Unless a manager can awaken in each and all of his assistants a sufficient amount of dynamic force to set them going of themselves, he will always have before him a huge and well-nigh hopeless task. This initiative must come from within. It cannot be hammered in from without. Push and pull as much as we like, we cannot force unwilling human beings into a proper performance of their several functions. While movements produced by them upon application of outside force may give an *appearance* of effective labor, such is merely a surface appearance. If you examine well the conduct of those who patiently suffer themselves to be pushed and pulled, you will find wasted power in every act, in every thought, in every word.

Employers of men and women know better than any one can tell them that the product of unwilling service cannot be compared with that of willing service. Those who have tried many ways and means fully comprehend that in *energizing* an organization something vastly more important than money must be acquired. Indeed, it is one of the very virtues of a rounded-out and efficient self-moving organization that less money is required, because less useless money is passed through the hopper and lost in wasted energy.

It is very hard to describe the *esprit de corps* of a military company in action, yet the presence of this unified spirit is so obvious that we see it in the very expression on the faces of the men. Men experienced in handling bodies or companies or societies of men and women know that the ability to impart to others the impulse to be useful is the most valuable asset the executive head of any organization can possess. When he succeeds in getting everybody all the way down the line pushing and pulling together, he has accomplished the one great essential thing.

Business ought not to be a source of worriment, a continual hourly harassment, a lifelong burden and care. If it is per-

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formed properly and easily, it ought to be a source of pleasure to the man engaged in its daily acts. Much of this real pleasure is missed by those who are unable to surround themselves with willing assistants.

Some of our friends will say that all this sounds very delightful, and that they would enjoy it very much if business could be carried on in that way—the way we suggest—but it is absolutely impracticable because we cannot get the kind of men described as necessary for our assistants. In reply, we are led to ask our friends whether they have ever really tried to readjust the various duties that must be performed by some one.

It may be that lying dormant in the people about us there is just the ability needed. Let us study the men and women in our employ carefully and sincerely with but one-tenth of the concentration applied in the effort to understand our customers. The needed faculties may all be there, undiscovered, because unsearched for. In the heart of every one of them, from our brother officers down to the porter, there is, or surely ought to be, in existence a germ of a desire to perform useful work for you. It may lie buried too deeply to show on the surface; but, depend upon it, somewhere in pretty nearly every human being is the seed of use, perhaps awaiting only a touch to begin an active development.

It does not necessarily follow that the best service which those about us can render is the best of the particular kind that we require. Where hundreds of misfits in life are recorded among the notables, many thousands exist unknown among the common people. Roughly classed into "laborers," "mechanics," "clerks," "professional men," and "bankers," there may be thrown people who exist in those groups without possessing an adequate understanding of the nature of their real calling, or why they are there. If this is true generally, it may be particularly true of our plant. Consequently many adjustments may have to be made in the men and women connected with our concern before we can get the machine properly geared up. We may have to take and give more or less severe doses of physic; but be assured that even heroic measures, if found necessary, will be worth while.

The human body is an organization, a machine. The head may retain full possession of its faculties—in other words, remain thoroughly alive—after the entire body is paralyzed. How earnestly such a man desires to get his arms and legs working—to be alive all over and in every part! What a difference there is between a completely alive business organization and a partially paralyzed one!

When men leave their homes in the morning and go to their business, they find themselves in surroundings so different, and sometimes so much less enjoyable, that they grow in time to think of business as an abstract thing, separate and apart from their home life, their real life. Some even distinguish business from the men engaged in conducting it. Can we separate an act from the actor so that the act may perform itself? If it were possible to accomplish such a feat of legerdemain, we might by another turn of the wrist construct a species of business that would run alone, that would continue to operate without the supposedly necessary dynamic force. But the idea that business is anything different from what our thoughts, words, and actions make it would not, after due thought, be received seriously by many.

The intimate relation between life and business seems to lead us to a consideration and conviction that the right thing to do with our business is to *energize the people connected with it.*

Perhaps it may have appeared from these simple suggestions that the arousing of the dormant energy in our organization is not a hard thing to do. It *is* hard in the sense that it is always hard to break up settled habits. It *is* hard to make up our minds to do something different from that to which we are daily accustomed. It *is* hard because we hate even to consider the *giving up of control;* but when our resolution is once firmly fixed, perhaps the major portion of our particular problem is already solved.

It is suggested that one of the practical things to do in the beginning is to arrange that all possible details, now binding our hands and feet like shackles, be delegated to our assistants. It seems necessary to

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do this in the beginning in order that we may find time to perfect our more elaborate plans; but at once fears arise that no one can be found in the organization who can attend to these details in the efficient way in which we have been accustomed to handle them. Immediately pictures of hundreds of disastrous situations flash before the mind as the president sees the amateurish bungling by others of those details so familiar to him. It is hard to contemplate the mistakes that inevitably follow the shifting of responsibility to another's shoulders.

Unless we can look beyond the immediate consequences of those possible errors and see in the loss a larger gain, it will not be easy for us to favor any slackening of our attention of the smaller matters, the aggregate of which drives us like daily slaves. On the other hand, if we can catch a glimpse of the larger opportunities afforded by a fully organized energy, we may become convinced that nothing should prevent us from making a beginning, from inaugurating earnest effort to get everybody, from top to bottom, pushing and pulling together.

THE NEW BOOKS

The "Recollections of Alexander H. Stephens" consists of a brief biographical introduction by the editor, Myrta Lockett Avary, and Mr. Stephens's "diary kept when a prisoner at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, 1865, giving incidents and reflections of his prison life and some letters and reminiscences." It is a valuable addition to American history. It is not altogether pleasant reading to a Northern man, but we wish that it could be not only read but carefully digested by that happily decreasing number of men who keep alive their hostility to the South as a section lately in rebellion, and regard as traitors all Southerners who took part, either as soldiers or statesmen, in the Confederacy. Probably, however, it would do them no good. Could they, for example, understand the following sentence? "I told them that if, in solemn convention, the State should determine to resume her delegated powers, and assert her sovereign and independent rights, I should be bound to go with her; to her I owed ultimate allegiance; her cause would be my cause, her destiny mine. I thought the step a wrong one—it might be fatal; and exerted my utmost power to prevent it; but when it was taken, though against my judgment and counsel, I, as a good citizen, could but share the common fate, whatever it might be." We do not envy the man who can read that sentence and not realize that the act of Mr. Stephens (and this is equally true of thousands whom he represented) was that of a man absolutely loyal to his own convictions and to the government to which he believed his allegiance was primarily due. As in the American Revolution the Tory was loyal to the mother country and the revolutionist to the Colonial Government, so in the secession movement General Lee and Mr. Stephens were loyal to the State Government and General Grant and General Sherman were loyal to the Federal Government. The question at issue between them was, to which Government was the loyalty primarily due? Even he who cannot understand this simple principle can hardly fail, in reading this diary, to realize that he is listening to a soul at once devout and conscientious, who may be criticised, if you will, for an error of judgment, but cannot be condemned for a moral obliquity. (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $2.50.)

There are few, if any, in our country better qualified than Professor Frederic J. Stimson to make, as he says, "some suggestions to my readers which will awaken their interest to the importance" of modern statute-making. The business man, the student of government or sociology, the lawyer, have long been painfully conscious of the prevalent tendency to secure a statute on every known subject; nevertheless, we think even they will be surprised to learn from "Popular Law-Making" that our forty-six States and two Territories enact on an average twenty-five thousand laws annually—monuments to industry, if not, in every instance, to wisdom. Professor Stimson calls to his readers' attention how modern is the notion, at least to the Anglo-Saxon mind, that any legislature can *make* laws, for centuries its only province having been deemed to *declare* them. The first five chapters of his book concern themselves largely with the early English attempts to legislate on subjects which seem to most of us peculiar to this and the last century, such as regulating the price of commodities, wages, etc., and against monopolies. The remaining chapters of the book place before his readers the present state of legislation in this country regarding "Property Rights," "Regulation of Rates and Prices," "Trusts and Monopolies," "Corporations," "Labor Laws," "Combinations in Labor Matters," "Military and Mob Law and the Right to

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Arms," "Marital Relations," "Marriage and Divorce," "Women's Rights." The mere enumeration of the titles discloses how vital are his themes. Professor Stimson modestly disclaims any attempt to instruct those who have already made a study of legislation, but addresses himself to the business man, the journalist, or the political student, seeking to indicate "what has been accomplished by law-making in the past, and what is now being adopted or even proposed; the history of statutes of legislation by the people as distinct from 'judge made' law; how far legislatures can cure the evils that confront the State or the individual, and what the future of American legislation is likely to be." We think he should be congratulated upon so successfully accomplishing his endeavor. His facts, we believe, are placed before his readers with accuracy and dispassionately, though all will not agree with his deductions from those facts. His point of view is that of the friend of the common law and the rather strict constructionist, but any intelligent man will find the book stimulating, and even the specialist who has not easy access to the various State laws will find the book a valuable résumé of legislation up to the year 1909. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.)

Lovers of Jane Austen and Mrs. Gaskell would do well to buy L. B. Walford's "Recollections of a Scottish Novelist." The book continues the same worth-while atmosphere of British domestic life. In truth, we in America know all too little about that life; the present volume describes it interestingly and restfully. And not only do the characters in the book become very real and distinct, they stand alongside the characters in Mrs. Walford's novels "Mr. Smith" and "The Baby's Grandmother." Mrs. Walford's father was a naturalist and sportsman, and it is interesting in the present volume to read of his strenuous endeavors as an angler and a hunter, and yet observe that he did not transgress certain Scottish proprieties. While the book introduces us to this and other attractive characters, its chief merit will, we think, be as a picture of general society in Edinburgh half a century ago. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $3.)

A second edition has been published of "Black's Law Dictionary," a work of positive value not only to the law student and practicing attorney but to every reference library, and most of all, perhaps, to a newspaper reference library. Without attempting to discuss technically or in detail the definitions and references in this volume, it may be said, in the first place, that its arrangement, division of titles, and typographical form are excellent. Its definitions and discussion of cases are not as extensive as that of the well-known older work by Bouvier; but in other respects it is perhaps more explicit, and certainly more concise. The first edition was published about ten years ago, and the present edition has been enlarged, and, in particular, has received valuable additions in the department of medical jurisprudence and that of legal maxims. Altogether, as a single-volume law dictionary the work is thorough and valuable. (The West Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minnesota. $6.)

The recent attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy in Spain regarding the Government's attempted reforms gives some color to the oft-repeated statement that, for the most part, the Spanish clergy are pro-Carlist in their sympathies. These sympathies are doubtless not so much awakened by the character of the present Carlist pretender to the throne of Spain, or that of his father, who recently died, as by the radically progressive character and tendencies of the Spanish Government. In contradistinction, Carlism stands for reaction and for the confirmation of priests and bishops, and especially of monks and nuns, in their privileges. Carlism has thus been a bane to Spain. It arose with the succession of Ferdinand VII. Ferdinand married Maria Cristina of Naples and the Two Sicilies. Their child became Isabella II. But Isabella did not become queen without a conflict with her father's brother, Don Carlos. He maintained that the Salic Law, excluding females from the throne, obtained in Spain. A reminder of that conflict is at hand in the just-published biography by Mr. Edmond B. d'Auvergne, entitled "A Queen at Bay." It describes the struggle between Cristina and Carlos. Cristina's mission was apparently to preserve her daughter's throne. But really Cristina's work in life became far more important. Out of the conflict the Spanish people got a Constitution. In this connection it should be said to Cristina's credit that, however little she may have been moved primarily by a desire to help the people, she did emphatically protest against any attempt to revoke the liberties once granted. She thus not only instituted but preserved the constitutional monarchy of Spain. The present volume has interest, therefore, both as a dramatically told biography and as a contribution to the better understanding of whatever there is in Spanish constitutional history. (The John Lane Company, New York. $5.)

The late Dr. Borden P. Bowne, of Boston University, had nearly made ready for the press a group of sermons when he was suddenly removed by death last April. These, entitled "The Essence of Religion," are now given to the public, with a preface by his widow. As The Outlook said soon after his decease, "he was one of those rare teachers who vitalize whatever topic they take up." Spiritually quickening and illuminating, these discourses, touching life at many points, must be reckoned among the more important religious books of the year. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.50.)

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LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

TRADE UNIONS ONCE UNLAWFUL

In connection with the article by Mr. Samuel Gompers which appeared in The Outlook last week, Mr. John Mitchell, writing to The Outlook, says that, prior to 1824, both by Acts of Parliament and by decisions of the courts under the Common Law, trade unions were declared to be unlawful. In "The History of Trade-Unionism," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, will be found information concerning the combination law in force in Great Britain prior to 1824. This is also confirmed by Mr. F. A. Acland, Deputy Minister of Labor in the Dominion Cabinet, who writes as follows:

Prior to 1824 there were numerous Acts in force in England directed against labor organizations. Thirty-four were repealed by the "Combinations of Workmen Act" (5 Geo. IV, Chap. 95), beginning with the Conspiracy-Criminal Law of Edward I, about 1304-5, and ending with 57 Geo. III, Chap. 122, in 1817. The provisions in force from 1800 to 1824 forbade, under pain of fine, imprisonment, the pillory, or mutilation, any workmen from conspiring, etc., that they would not work but at a certain rate or price, or would not enterprise to finish that which another had begun, or would do but a certain work in a day, or would not work but at certain hours or times. All contracts and agreements for obtaining an advance in wages, etc., entered into between any journeymen, manufacturers, or others, are declared null and void. There were also other laws, mainly directed against political associations and movements, which were invoked against labor organizations. These were laws against conspiracy, seditious assemblies, illegal societies, etc., including an Act of 1799 suppressing all corresponding societies. ("Labor Legislation, Labor Movements, Labor Leaders," by George Howell, Vol. I, Chaps. III and IV.)

The right of workingmen to organize was denied in England by the laws against combination and conspiracy in force prior to 1824. An Act of 1825 (6 Geo. IV, Chap. 129) stated in the preamble that combinations among workmen for fixing the wages of labor, etc., "are injurious to trade and commerce, dangerous to the tranquillity of the country, and especially prejudicial to the interests of all who are concerned in them." This Act is chiefly directed against violence, molestation, and threats, and allows meetings for settling rates of wages, etc. It was in force until 1871. Mr. D. M. Parry, in his Annual Report as President of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America, in April, 1903, urged that "employers' associations set about the task of pulling up, root and branch, the un-American institution of trade-unionism as at present conducted." He goes on to say that the attack should be made not against "unions in themselves" but against modern trade-unionism. (Quoted in "Organized Labor," by John Mitchell, page 189.)

CRIMINAL LIBEL

I read with astonishment your editorial comment on the United States Supreme Court decision on the criminal libel prosecution of the New York "World." What you state is all true enough; the astonishment is at the airy manner in which you wave aside the whole matter of the Federal jurisdiction as a mere trivial detail, of no significance to the public, and (such at least seems to be the suppressed implication) not regarded as of any particular importance by the Federal authorities for the prosecution either. As though it were the merest "happenstance" that the Attorney-General venued his case in Federal Court! And yet this single point of the Federal jurisdiction in the case is what the whole furor was about from the beginning. That point, and that alone, was the basis for all attack against the proceedings as an infringement of the freedom of the press. No one has ever contended that the libel laws themselves are any infringement of the proper liberty of the press, or that the New York "World" ought to go unpunished if it committed criminal libel. But it is contended vigorously that to subject any newspaper to the jurisdiction of the Federal Court and a jury in Washington, D. C., if a single copy of the paper was sold in the District of Columbia, would be a serious infringement of Constitutional guarantees. I know that this precise phase of the question was involved in the Indianapolis "News" case rather than in the "World's" case. Is it your opinion that this question is of no proper interest to the public generally, or that it is of no importance in relation to the proper freedom of the press? The signers of the Declaration of Independence did not so regard it. They objected to being dragged to England, to be there tried for offenses committed in the colonies.

And why did the Attorney-General start his proceedings in Federal Court? There were old precedents throwing grave doubt, to say the least, upon the Federal jurisdiction; this was pointed out as soon as the proceedings were launched. If it was a matter of no importance what court tried these newspapers, if the only significant question was their guilt or innocence, and one court was as good as another, why did the Government choose a court of doubtful jurisdiction, and fight stubbornly to retain the cases there, instead of saving time and money by prosecuting in State Court, whose jurisdiction could not have been questioned? Are these not pertinent inquiries, and of public interest? GEORGE C. ROSS.

Duluth, Minnesota.

[We do not know why the Attorney-General brought this criminal prosecution before the Federal courts; possibly because he thought the power of the press in New York City would prevent a fair trial. We think that ordinarily criminal prosecutions for libel should be brought in the locality in which the libel is primarily published. But we should be glad to see well-considered legislation giving to the Federal courts jurisdiction over all criminal offenses committed against the persons of the President of the United States and of the Justices of the Supreme Court, and against aliens. Whether

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this should include offenses against their reputation is doubtful.—THE EDITORS.]

A MAN WHO KNOWS

I have received your circular letter of the 16th inst. soliciting a renewal of my subscription to The Outlook for 1911. This necessarily brings me to a consideration of your attitude upon the vaccination question as set forth in your editorial in the November, 1910, issue. The importance of this question to the people of this country is greater than "The Conservation of Our Natural Resources," "The Tariff," "Currency," and "Freight Rate" questions, all combined, and yet you assumed in your editorial to settle it all, in favor of vaccination, by a series of glaringly untruthful and wholly unsupported assertions, foreclosing all discussion upon the subject so far as the use of the columns of The Outlook is concerned.

I have carefully studied the vaccination question for several years, and am thoroughly conversant with the expressed views of many of the most prominent advocates and opponents of the practice in the world, and I assert, knowing absolutely that I cannot be intelligently and successfully contradicted, that there is now nowhere to be found a man of *proven competency* and well-established reputation for truth and probity either in or out of the medical profession who advocates vaccination.

The chief asset of a good magazine is its editorials. If I should read any Outlook editorials in the future, I would be bound, as a matter of common sense, to view them in the light of the one referred to, which has destroyed my confidence in you as a man of probity and reliability.

I do not want The Outlook for 1911.

Omaha, Nebraska. H. E. COCHRAN.

THE CONDITIONS IN MAINE

As President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Vice-President of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, I respectfully ask the privilege of making a statement in The Outlook relative to the conditions in Maine, in which State my home has always been. For thirty years I have been actively and officially connected with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the work of which has called me into every State in the Union, and oftentimes over the sea. I refer to this fact simply to show that my opportunities to study the great problem, "What shall be done with the liquor traffic?" have not been confined to my own State, and hence I should be the better able to judge concerning the relative values of laws enacted to apply to the liquor traffic.

As is well known, Maine longer than any other State has maintained a State-wide prohibitory law. Previous to the enactment of this law Maine was one of the poorest States in the Union, but for many years Maine has been classed among the most prosperous States. The amount of money in the savings institutions of the State constantly increases, and the late report shows the per capita deposit to be $181.15. Since the enactment of the prohibitory law Maine has more than multiplied its valuation by five, while neighboring States have not multiplied theirs by three, and the last year in Maine has shown its greatest advance in this line.

The home lovers of Maine may well be proud to live in a State of which its Governor can say, as Governor Fernald said a few months ago: "There are more than 212,000 school-children in the State of Maine. Not one of this great army of healthy, happy, rugged boys and girls has ever seen, emblazoned over a store front, a sign advertising the sale of intoxicating liquors. They have walked the hundreds of miles of business streets of our twenty cities and four hundred and fifty-four towns, on their way to and from their schools, they have seen the names of their fathers shining in letters of gold as sellers of all the wholesome and necessary articles of trade, as lawyers and doctors and printers, but never as poisoners of the human system and wreckers of homes."

Colonel Fred N. Dow, a prominent citizen of Portland, and president of one of the leading banks, has recently said: "I happen to know the opinions upon this subject of many of the presidents and vice-presidents of our various financial institutions. And of those with whose opinion I am acquainted—a large majority of all—more than eighty-five per cent are favorable to prohibition. These men have come to see that under prohibition the power of the liquor traffic to sap the very foundation of business is much curtailed; they have come to believe in that policy as tributary to a sound business condition."

Mr. J. R. Libby, a prosperous and influential business man, recently stated over his own signature: "I regard the prohibitory law of Maine as much a success as is any law of the State—against crime. We have no open saloons in our city, and liquor-selling in Portland is limited to kitchen barrooms and blind tigers. No hotel in our city has any open bars, and I am sure that the laboring people of our State are to-day in much better financial condition than they would have been if we had the open saloon."

It is true that efforts for resubmission of the prohibitory amendment have often been made during the past twenty years, but have always been unsuccessful. Last September the party which has stood for resubmission elected its Governor and the majority of the legislative candidates. Resubmission was not the issue in the campaign. The Chairman of the National Committee of this party, in his comment on the Maine election, giving the reasons why the party won, made no allusion whatever to the question of temperance or prohibition. It is well known that this party came into power in Maine for the first time in thirty years on the same

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political wave that later swept the States of New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, and several Congressional districts in other States. The subject of campaign speeches in Maine was invariably the high cost of living under the existing Administration and the insurgent tariff ideas so prevalent in other parts of the country; hence the voters of the State were not tested last September on the question of resubmission. The Governor of Maine, in his inaugural address on January 5, recommended resubmission, and the Legislature may vote accordingly. Even then this will not mean that all who favor resubmission are opposed to prohibition, for some strong advocates of prohibition are in favor of giving the men an opportunity to vote on the question.

The Maine Woman's Christian Temperance Union, representing thousands of Maine homes, the Maine Sunday-School Association, with one hundred thousand members, and the church organizations which have met since the September election have all declared against resubmission. We believe that since the beast of the legalized liquor traffic is caged, it is better to keep him so and not to let him out to catch him again. If resubmission comes, we shall have the greatest prohibition battle the world has ever known. On the one hand will be the mighty monopoly of the liquor trade with millions to spend for the overthrow of the prohibitory law; on the other hand will be the forces of the home and all that is good and pure and holy. I do not hesitate to predict that the law which has brought manifold blessings to Maine will be upheld and retained.

LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS,
President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Portland, Maine.

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

In these days when many women are demanding "rights" that shall widen their field of influence, it is good to review a half-century of marvelous accomplishment by woman in her own sphere. The Woman's Union Missionary Society of America, pioneer of all our organized boards for work among heathen women, has just observed its "Golden Anniversary" at its annual meeting in New York.

This Society, born of much faith and prayer, began its work under circumstances of peculiar difficulty; it had no strong church or organization at its back, no predecessors or forerunners to blaze a track into the unknown field, no tried plans or policies upon which to model its own. The Society has always been interdenominational, its officers and constituency being women of many religious names and creeds working with one mind and heart for the Name that is above every name. Its officers are unsalaried, and its work is carried on along simple and direct lines. The Society has never been in debt.

It has schools, orphanages, and women's hospitals in India and China, and an army of trained Bible women and educated Christian teachers as helpers. In Shanghai the success of the Margaret Williamson Hospital for Women, with its eight hundred thousand patients in twenty-five years, has been phenomenal. Its school in Japan was the first girls' boarding-school in the Empire; its Bible Woman's Training-School is the largest in the country, yet not half large enough to supply the demand for workers in the needy and often still unevangelized fields.

And this is but the beginning, for at the close of this first half-century the Society is looking forward to greater things in the Master's name. Here is a field for women where laborers are still few, where a white harvest-field stands waiting to be reaped, where countless sad women of the East still sit in chains and darkness, waiting for the opening of their prison doors.

Geneva, New York. JULIA H. BRONSON.

A TRUE DISTINCTION

An article appeared in The Outlook of December 31, 1910, on "The Proposal to Increase Postage Rates," the writer taking the ground that it would be improper for the Government to tax the advertising matter in magazines while exempting those in the newspapers.

Your position in this respect seems to me to be entirely correct, but it is not consistent with your attitude with reference to the corporation tax. Some months ago your arguments in this direction were directly opposite to the views now expressed, so far as discrimination is involved. The latter method of taxation is as much discriminatory in its character as is the former. There is no just reason for taxing incorporated companies when partnerships in the same lines of business are exempted. This tax was formulated more for its publicity feature than to obtain an income, and it failed in that respect owing to the lack of sufficient appropriation. Where corporations are required to pay a tax, all individuals in the same character of manufacturing should be likewise taxed.

I think a more equitable plan for obtaining revenue by the Government would be through a stamp tax, which would be shared proportionately by every one and yet not be found burdensome to any. G. A. F.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[We think there is a perfectly clear line of demarcation between the corporation and partnership. The corporation has some advantages over the partnership, given by law, for which it may be asked to pay. It is given continuity to live which is unaffected by the death of the individuals in it. This single feature is what makes the corporation so advantageous an institution in modern industry. There is no such distinction between newspapers and magazines.—THE EDITORS.]

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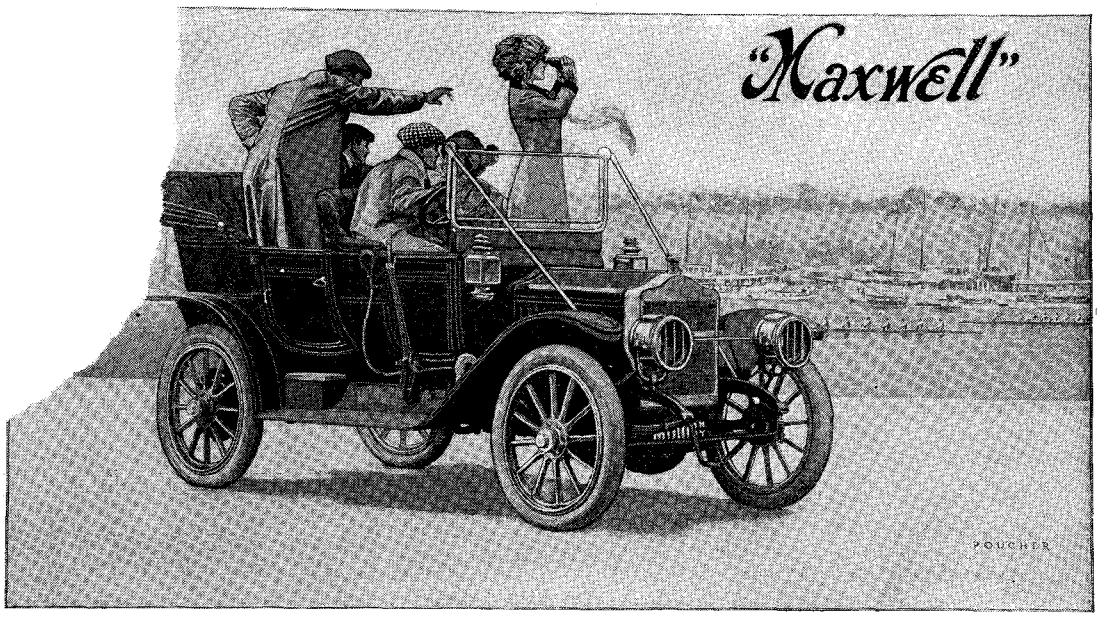

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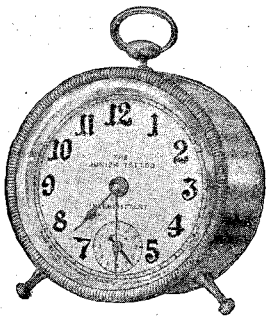
Half  *Size*

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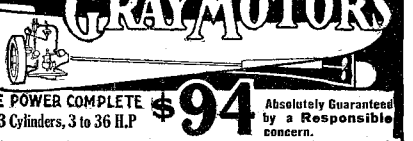

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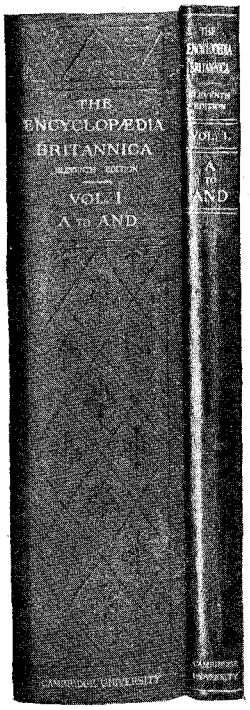

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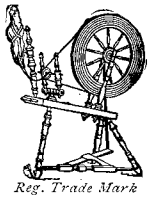
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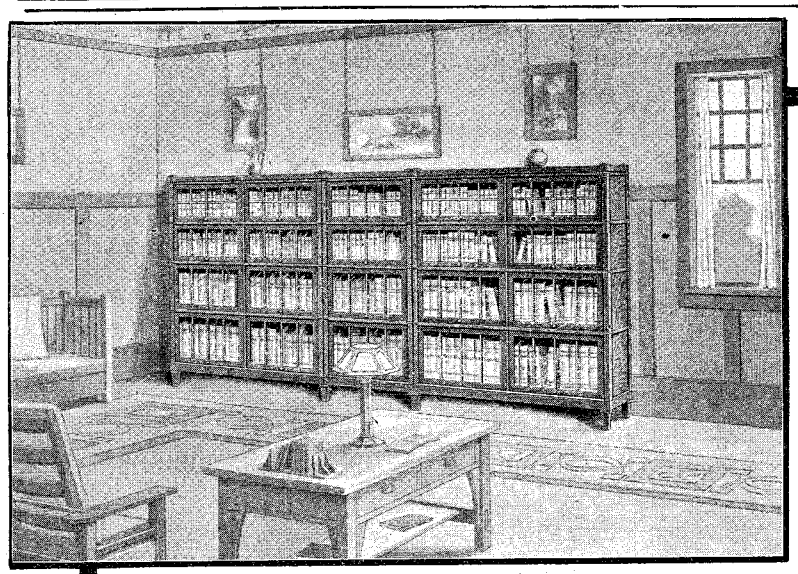

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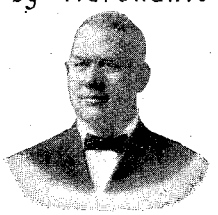

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